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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1961

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OFFICIAL REPORTS ON MEETING OF BLOC IDEOLOGISTS

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 12, 1981 pp 3-10

[Article by Tamas Palos, deputy department head of the Central Committee: "Policy of the Communists--Peace, Progress and Socialism"]

[Text] Everyone who spoke said the convening of the conference held on 3-4 November 1981 in Moscow by the ideological and international affairs secretaries of the Central Committees of the communist and workers parties in 11 socialist countries[1] was timely and important. Important because the fraternal parties regarded it as necessary to discuss and evaluate the world political developments which have occurred since the last conference (in Berlin, July 1979), to exchange their experiences in ideological work, and to strengthen the cooperation which has developed in the internal class struggle. Timely because quite a few new developments were awaiting discussion and analysis, and the fraternal parties wanted to designate the main lines and concrete goals for uniting their efforts on the basis of the most recent observations. On one hand, the participants in the conference saw the altered conditions of recent times in that the international situation had become to a large extent more strained and, on the other hand, as they put it in their communique, "the continuous development of the world of socialism and its building work have placed new tasks before the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries."

At the end of the conference, the terms "important" and "timely" were supplemented by a new word of appreciation: the delegates referred to a "useful" conference. This can be explained by the fact that the talks achieved their goal, because at the high level of Central Committee secretaries, 11 communist and workers parties had:

--coordinated their evaluation of the world political situation;

--affirmed the unchanged reality and importance of the earlier peace proposals and initiatives of the socialist countries;

--discussed timely questions regarding the cooperation of the participating fraternal parties in the struggle for peace, socialism and social progress;

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1. The Bulgarian Communist Party, the CSSR Communist Party, the Cuban Communist Party, the Laos Revolutionary People's Party, the Polish United Workers Party, Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the GDR Socialist Unity Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the Soviet Union Communist Party, and the Vietnamese Communist Party.

--formulated the concept that the parties represented at the conference are prepared to cooperate in the most urgent problems of the present time and in the guarding of peace with everyone who joins in the effort to continue the process of detente and put an end to the arms race;

--become familiar with one another's experiences in respect to how they will further develop the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its propagation in a creative way, and how they will strengthen certain elements of general socialist thinking;

--expressed the determination of the parties regarding active participation in the international ideological struggle and their readiness to broaden cooperation in the interest of popularizing the ideas of communism and peace in opposition to the reactionary bourgeois ideology and propaganda that is hostile to socialism.

As reported in the press announcement, all these things took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and unity. Behind these things is the significant fact that the communist and workers parties working on various continents of the earth and in varying situations on the direct solution of tasks have taken a unified position on the questions that were discussed, which, as is evident, are very important. Of course, even at this conference this was accompanied by a variety of views and opinions that is natural considering the above-mentioned conditions. But it also happened that among the 11 delegations only 10 were able to join in a joint declaration in defense of Cuba because the representatives of the Romanian Communist Party did not wish to take part in this action.

On balance, the Moscow Conference was a successful continuation of the series of conferences held regularly since December 1973 with the participation of the ideological and foreign affairs secretaries of the central committees. At the present, the seventh, conference, the leader of the Hungarian delegation, Miklos Ovari, could state in a well-founded manner: "We shall make broad use of the results in the domestic and international propaganda work of our party." On basis of the delegation's report, his words have been affirmed since then by the leading party body.

The leading party politicians of the socialist countries stated unanimously at the conference that in the present world situation many elements of detente and tension are present. At foreign political presentations, however, it is frequently asked whether we can still speak of detente. We can firmly reply with a yes. Not only because no change has occurred in the basic factor resulting in detente, in the power relations, but also because the achievements of detente have been permanently built into the relations among states, and the warlike powers have not been able to uproot these. And the subjective bases of detente, the unflagging efforts of the progressive forces for peace and their global repercussions continue to be forceful in guarding the results achieved by way of detente and in continuing on this course.

Together with the existence of detente, it is a fact that in recent years the international situation has become more strained and the political victories of the detente which unfolded in the 1970's are in danger. As the cause of this, they unanimously pointed out the following at the Moscow Conference:

1. Let us first look at the facts.

The new United States government announced as soon as it assumed power that it would reject the ratification of the SALT II Treaty.

The capitalist countries are impeding by every means they can that agreement at the Madrid Conference should come about in respect to the expansion of the zone of confidence-building measures and in respect to calling a conference on European military detente and disarmament.

The NATO countries regard the Central European discussions in Vienna on reductions in force as being deadlocked.

The United States and its allies have rejected the Soviet proposal for a moratorium on the placing of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

2. In the meantime, on the other hand:

NATO has made a decision on the placement of new-type nuclear missiles in Europe.

The American President has decided on beginning the serial production of neutron bombs.

In the Pentagon budget alone, military goals will be increased next year by more than $40 billion, and thus will come to $226 billion. By 1986, the United States is planning to spend $1.5 trillion for this purpose.

Organization of the American rapid deployment force is proceeding at a forced pace, and in the middle of November in the "Bright Star '82" military exercise framework it already tried out in the Middle East those forces which the United States is inclined to use against any people "in the defense of its global interests."

The United States has declared its willingness to deliver modern American weapons, military technical means and technologies to China.

3. As we could read in the Moscow announcement, all this was accompanied by the effort of:

--"the imperialists to intervene in the internal affairs of the socialist states and other countries and seek to disintegrate the socialist community";

--"the imperialists and their allies to incite and support reactionary forces in Latin America, the Caribbean countries, the Middle East, in the southern part of Africa, in the horn of Africa, in Southeast and South Asia, and in other areas of the world."

4. All of the above-mentioned actions have been accompanied by large-scale propaganda. According to the statement of the fraternal parties, "In order to lay an ideological smokescreen over their own activities, the militarist groups are loudly circulating baseless fabrications about "the Soviet military threat."

Under this pretext they are conducting an unbridled ideological and propaganda campaign not only against the socialist countries but in effect against every revolutionary and fighter for national liberation and peace. They present the broad-scale and mounting antiwar movements in the capitalist countries, which are socially and politically manifold, as if they were organized from the outside and were antithetical to the national interests of the countries."

In light of the Moscow Conference there are at present four main lines of activity we face from the aggressive forces of imperialism:

--the hindering of negotiations;
--unbridled armament;
--the damaging of relations among states;
--anticommunist, antidetente propaganda.

And the deduction from all this is that a dangerous change has taken place in the foreign policy of the United States and thus in its international attitude regarding the cause of detente and world peace. The greatest danger is represented by that concept of the extreme circles of imperialism that the interests of the capitalist world can be realized only by acquiring military superiority and upsetting the balance.

The ideological and foreign affairs secretaries of the central committees seek an answer not only to what has happened in the imperialist camp, but also the reasons therefore. In general, three conditions were discussed.

First, those forces have taken over political power in the United States which are linked more closely than anything heretofore to the military-industrial complex, and they represent those interests to the extreme. These firms manufacture weapons in great volume for army orders and pocket tremendous profits in the sale of weapons of mass destruction. For example, the MX missiles represent a $33 billion order, the cruise missiles a $4 billion order, the system of nuclear submarines equipped with Trident missiles an $11 billion order, and the new-type strategic bombers a $12 billion order.

Furthermore, American concerns gain great profits from weapons exports. According to data in FORTUNE Magazine, the leading U.S. military industrial firms are also the largest exporters. Among these are General Dynamics, Lockheed, Boeing, McDonnel-Douglas, and so forth. But military industrial enterprises in other NATO countries have also revived markedly.

Secondly, certain capitalist circles see the way out of the crisis of capitalism in a more aggressive policy because it is in this way that they would like to guard or gain their domination over areas rich in energy sources and raw materials. And they see a means therein of torpedoing the revolutionary process by way of a ruthless fight against the left wing in their own countries and harshly opposing the forces of progress, peace, and national liberation.

Thirdly, imperialism hopes to acquire military superiority over socialism, thereby weakening the positions of socialism and the favorable effect it has

exercised on world development. It is from here that the power politics of imperialism emerge and those doctrines which change with the times but are always essentially the same, such as, "mass retaliation," "rolling back" and so forth. This also incites them to warlike extortion and to an arms race, among other things, in the calculation that in this way they will succeed in economically "exhausting" socialism and burying its social stability.

In their policy of raising tensions and bringing about confrontations, the leading circles of imperialism are giving an increasingly greater role to the European theater. Recently in this connection, the American President made his frightening announcement on the possibility of a limited nuclear war on the continent. To make a realistic judgment of the European situation, it is worthwhile to note the duality latent in the West European attitude. On one hand, it is obvious that the class interests of the United States and of the European capitalist countries are the same, and in fact from the viewpoint of the defense of their allegedly threatened social system they are interested in a "strong America" and the maintenance of its large Western armament potential. But on the other hand, from the viewpoint of their situation, endowments, possibilities, and, finally, their own interests, they calculate more carefully the realities of the world and of Europe, and therefore in many respects they do not follow American thinking and give voice to different views and endeavors.

However, the bourgeois propaganda which maintains that the socialist countries are "speculating" on differences between the United States and Western Europe is false. The socialist countries do not wish to incite differences of view; their interest is that progress and peace should be victorious in the whole world, including Europe.

The international strains are increasing the foreign political measures of the Chinese leadership and their open collaboration with the extreme, aggressive circles of imperialism. By virtue of the coincidence or convergence of political concepts, a Chinese-American political collaboration has developed which endangers the world, including the peace of Asia. The representative of the Vietnamese Communist Party spoke of this very graphically when he pointed out: "In Southeast Asia, Beijing's strategy is directed at weakning and then annexing Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and thereby opening a new path to gaining domination over the entire area." To this end, it is constantly provoking Vietnam militarily, conducting psychological warfare against it, and doing everything to disrupt its economic life. It attacks Laos in a similar way. Against Cambodia, to quote the Vietnamese delegate--"it has started an undeclared war which consists of three elements: Chinese command and weapons--Thailand border country--Pol Pot bands." In all these matters, Beijing finds allies in the United States, Japan, and the ASEAN countries. On balance, the conference summarized the mainsprings of present imperialist policy as follows: "It is endeavoring to continue its colonial and neocolonial policy, oppress the people, and to stop and choke off movements that are struggling for national and social liberation. All this is related to the deep economic crisis of the capitalist world and the unprecedented sharpening of social and political contradictions. It shows that in the interest of overcoming its own crisis imperialism will not recoil even from foreign political adventurism, and it seeks to shift the burdens of the crisis onto the backs of the people."

The communist and workers parties of all socialist countries reacted at the Moscow Conference to the above-mentioned changes in imperialist policy as they have at recently held party congresses, or as we have seen at the various forums of the Warsaw Pact: resolutely, consistently, moderately and calmly, with the interest of peace in mind. Again they showed that they are aware of their great responsibility because, as they emphasized, "the socialist community is the main factor in keeping the peace and solidifying security." Accordingly, they recommended to the attention of their foes and partners that "the foreign political proposals and initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states and other socialist countries have represented an alternative of a type building a peace program for the 1980's, as compared to the aggressive lines of American imperialism and its allies."

One of the pronouncements of the Moscow Conference which evoked a large reaction was that it vouched for the complete openness of the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries toward all those forces which advocate peace.

Among these, the policies of the new, independent states of Africa, Asia, and Latin America are acquiring an increasingly more prominent and greater influence. There are already more than 100 states which are following a peace-loving foreign political direction. These states which have chiefly selected the path of socialist development, have resolutely made themselves heard in the United Nations and other international forums. The movement of the nonaligned nations, which brings together most of the liberated countries, contributes to an important degree to the defense of peace and to the restraining of the arms race.

A very important part of the peace potential consists of the general democratic antiwar movement. Today this movement is again being strengthened and given greater and greater impetus, which is particularly striking in the West European countries.

What are the causes of this? On one hand, the fact that American policy is making people more and more uneasy; and on the other hand, the effect of the peace-loving initiatives of the socialist countries, which reveal the real possibilities for eliminating the danger of war.

Various political forces have linked into the antiwar movement. These include the communist parties, important circles of social democracy, and the environmental-protection movement. A more important factor is the working class and the trade movement. The working class already senses that the weight of the militarization of the economy will fall on its shoulders with the increase in inflation and unemployment, the rise in taxes, and the reduction of funds for socioeconomic goals. They are active in many bourgeois political parties, including certain circles of parties belonging to government coalitions. It is characteristic that in the antiwar movement an increasingly greater role is being assumed by respected military leaders who filled high posts in the army of their country or the headquarters staff of NATO. The realistic-thinking members of the ruling classes in the capitalist countries also advocate the avoidance of nuclear war.

Under present-day conditions, the antiwar movement frequently assumes an international, continental character. An example of this is the Peace March '81, which

started in Copenhagen on 22 June, passed through the territories of the FRG, the Netherlands, Belgium, and marched into Paris.

The Moscow Conference well reflected the fact that the fraternal parties have attributed, in the more strained international situation, an exceptionally outstanding importance to the stability of the socialist community, its unity, and its coordinated and manifold international presence. They are endeavoring to have their international cooperation strengthened in every area of life for the benefit of the socialist community as a whole and for every single member. The bilateral meetings held this summer in Crimea, including the talks between Janos Kadar and Leonic Ilyitch Brezhnev, provided important guides on the road to the realization of common goals. It was confirmed that the further development of the economic cooperation conducted in the CEMA framework, the increased efficiency of the institutional system and the deepening of socialist economic integration was of special importance for every country. In fact, in face of the increasing threats of imperialism, the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact could be maintained at the requisite level only by making economic cooperation more efficient.

In their comments, the representatives of the fraternal parties also dealt with the Polish events. To summarize what was said, we may formulate as their joint position a strengthening of their solidarity with the communists of socialist Poland and all Polish patriots. They support their struggle against the counterrevolution and the antipeople forces of anarchy, for the overcoming of the crisis, the consolidation of socialism, the leading role in society of the PZPR, and the development of the Polish People's Republic as a solid member of the socialist community. In this regard it was said: bourgeois propaganda seeks to show the Polish crisis as "the crisis of socialism" and the failure of "the Soviet model." But the troubles were not caused by the fact that the Polish leaders allegedly followed blindly "the Soviet model," but by the fact that they deviated from the principles of building socialism which had proved successful for decades. To be sure, these principles require that by taking realistically into account the national endowments and characteristics of their countries, the communist parties should strictly adhere to the Leninist norms of party life, consider carefully solidifying their relations with the masses and the improvement of socialist democracy, conduct a realistic economic policy, educate the workers in an internationalist spirit, bear witness to a revolutionary vigilance and oppose antisocialist forces in a firm and timely way.

In solving their domestic and international tasks, the countries of the socialist community can count on the energetic support of the others, the participants in the conference stated. To buttress this stance, they discussed and established that according to congressional resolutions it is an unchanged and timely task to strengthen cooperation among the parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. And to make sure that they were unified in interpretation, the participants repeatedly stressed: "These principles in themselves include full equal rights, respect for independence and sovereignty, nonintervention in domestic affairs, solidarity and mutual assistance."

Given the nature of the conference, there was a great deal of discussion of the fact that the place and role of the ideological fight has increased in the international struggle. This may be regarded as an objective phenomenon because the conflicting class interests of the working class and the bourgeois confront each other also on the ideological front, and the international class struggle includes in itself the ideological struggle. But this is also true in a national framework.

We must speak of this clearly nowadays because the United States and all of NATO is waging a propaganda campaign of extreme incitement against the socialist community, and primarily against the Soviet Union, the communist parties, the national democratic and liberation movements and the peace forces. It masks its activity prejudicially with ideological slogans. Nevertheless, it is evident that international imperialism has turned to ideological undermining work for directly political goals, the arresting of detente, the upsetting of the strategic balance, and the insistence on armaments. It is striving not for an open battle but for the misleading of international public opinion including that of its own population. In this, it exploits the internal and external difficulties of the socialist world system.

Undoubtedly in the present tense international situation, the conditions of propaganda and information work are more complicated. In addition to the wildly anticommunist, antisocialist and antiprogressive propaganda of the imperialist power centers, we must also reckon with ultraradical, pseudo-left and Maoist propaganda.

We need a propaganda that is on the offensive where we can build on the moral, political, social, economic and military strengths behind our international efforts and which are available to the socialist world system. We can also make use of the opportunity presented by the fact that interest in the ideas of socialism and its practice continues to grow in the nonsocialist world. And we can also rely on the circumstance that the peoples of the world are becoming more and more aware of the actual danger that threatens their peace and security. Despite political and ideological differences, more and more people regard it as important to seek that which binds them together in the struggle for peace and disarmament. Consequently, they are receptive to all those calls which mobilize for disarmament, for the restraining of armaments and for the prevention of war.

Under these circumstances, such tasks come to the forefront of the international information work of the socialist countries as convincingly show and popularize their foreign political line and their peace policy and unmask the armament policy and the antidetente line represented by the imperialist circles. The present situation requires propaganda which will help make it clear that gone are the times when "the powerful of this world" decide on matters of war and peace. The situation requires the dispersion of illusions that all can be settled in the negotiation rooms of international conferences. Everyone must be aware of the fact that he too is responsible for the fate of peace.

The program for ideological cooperation was enhanced further at the Moscow Conference. The guiding idea of the concrete agreements was that we must study mutually and more deeply, apply and circulate creatively those rich experiences

which the socialist countries have gained in solving important economic and social problems, in realizing the leading role of the party, in developing socialist democracy and statehood, and in ideological educational work.

They dealt separately with the question of what they might do in strengthening the unity of their countries and parties in the means of mass information. They expressed the view that one of their important tasks was socialist economic integration, production cooperation realized in bilateral relations and a more multilateral and systematic familiarity with technical-scientific cooperation. By this means, mass communications should be an example of relations among free and independent peoples and contribute to their more rapid advance toward socialism and communism. The participants in the conference emphasized that it is necessary to broaden and strengthen the mutual informing of public opinion regarding results of their countries, in order that the many sided cooperation of their peoples should be strengthened.

The MSZMP delegation[2] which on the basis of its authorization participated actively in the work of the conference, also urged further development of cooperation among the socialist countries and the communist parties. It evaluated the basic processes and phenomena of the international situation in harmony with the fraternal parties, and it outlined several of the more important characteristics of the carrying out of the 12th Congress resolutions. It especially dwelt on how important we regard it that we should speak better and more convincingly in our ideological work of the prospects for peace, analyze the international positions of socialism and progress more deeply, and explain more vigorously their determining role in the development of international relations. At the same time, we must reveal more deeply the present-day characteristics of social development. It is important for us to reason with more credibility, with greater conviction on behalf of our principles, plans, their long-range foundations and their reality. In our ideological work, a continuingly essential task is a deeper and more creditable analysis of our practice in building socialism and its propaganda.

The MSZMP delegation assured the delegations present at the conference that our party will be in the future, too, a participant in bilateral and multilateral ideological cooperation between the communist and workers parties. This position was affirmed at the 3 December session of the Central Committee. In this sense, it is the task of party organs, organizations and institutions active in every area of ideological work to utilize the experiences of the Moscow Conference in socialist building work and in the struggles waged in the international arena. The whole system of means in agitation and propaganda work seeks to help in this task.

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2. Mikos Ovari, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; Andras Gyenes, secretary of the Central Committee; Imre Gyori, department chief of the Central Committee; Sandor Laszlo, scientific director of the TIT [Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge].

PROPER ROLE, ACTIVITIES OF PARTY ORGANS DISCUSSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 23 Dec 81 pp 2-3

[Article by Thimi Nika: "The Party--A Leading Force of Our Socialist Society and State"]

[Excerpts] The 8th Congress of the Albanian Workers Party gave special attention to increasing and uninterruptedly perfecting the leading role of the party, tasks which are closely allied with the development and further expansion of the revolution in all fields and the complete building of the socialist society. The report presented by Comrade Enver Hoxha at this Congress is a document with great political and ideological importance and is another contribution of inestimable value not only for the defense but also for the further enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the party of the working class, that party which V.I. Lenin called "the thought, the honor and the conscience of our times."

In Albania, the party directs the entire life of the country. Our party has been and remains a revolutionary party, because during its entire history, strongly relying on Marxist-Leninist doctrine, on the laws of the materialistic development of society, it has worked out and executed a correct, pure and crystal-clear line, in complete accord with the interests of the working class and the other working masses. This line has enabled the party to orient itself well in every situation, no matter how difficult and complicated, to understand the present, to foresee the future, to devise and execute a revolutionary strategy and tactic at all times, to consistently carry on the class struggle against foreign and domestic enemies, among the people and in its own ranks.

In order to ensure its leading role everywhere and at all times, our party has always resolutely implemented the principle of the class struggle. It has shattered and caused the shameful defeat of all the diabolical plans and efforts of its many and varied enemies, both domestic and foreign, who, in order to bring about the degeneration of the socialist system, have directed their attacks, in particular, against the party and against its leading role. In the process of this struggle, the Albanian Workers Party has amassed a rich revolutionary experience, with great theoretical and practical value, from which it has drawn very important lessons and conclusions in regard to the protection and construction of socialism and the strengthening of the party of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our party has always waged the class struggle correctly and without mistakes, according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, taking a principled

stand in every situation, not falling into opportunism or sectarianism. While successfully waging the class struggle, it has continually increased and strengthened its leading role in the entire life of the country, and it has executed great duties on the glorious road of the building of socialism and the defense of the fatherland.

The 8th party congress assigned the duty of forming a clearer and more complete concept in regard to the execution of the leading role of the party in all links and in every field. In order to achieve this, the Congress stressed, it is necessary to struggle against narrow understandings of this matter, which are reflected in the erroneous opinion that "only the leading organs and apparatuses make up the party," not the great organized masses of all Communists. There have been cases where, on the basis of the principle that "the party directs everything," some people have involved the party organizations and committees and their directors in the concrete resolution of minor problems of production, administration, technology, etc. These attitudes show an obvious misunderstanding of the fact that the party leadership is, first of all, a political and ideological leadership and the party organizations should carry on a broad ideological and political activity for the theoretical and practical analysis of directives and decisions in order to make workers conscientious about executing them. Of course, the leadership of the party is also practical and concrete. Therefore, the most correct combining of all sides, with priority being given to the political and ideological aspects, which makes it possible to achieve a deep understanding of the correct execution of the leadership of the party, will stop the monopolization of work, the stifling of the initiative of the cadres and the masses, the duplication and displacement of party levers, and the weakening and withering away of the leading role of the party.

The sole and undivided leadership of the party and the revolutionary implementation of this principle have nothing in common with the monopolization of works and duties by its organs and basic organizations. The monopolization of works has negative consequences and leads to various distortions, to lack of confidence in the party levers and to their undermining. Protective attitudes and flaunting of authority also have negative consequences. Therefore, they should be severely combatted whenever and wherever they appear.

Of course, the party organizations cannot do all this by itself. Therefore, they put their levers into action; they charge them with concrete duties, they guide them and monitor them and require that they give reports on the exact execution of their duties. Therefore, it is very important that the party organs and organizations achieve the best possible collaboration with the levers for the execution of the tasks of the party.

The party has many levers and has trained a large army of cadres. It has assigned duties, powers and responsibilities to all; it guides and monitors them and asks for reports from them. But each one has full responsibility for its own work. But what has been happening on some occasions? As the 8th party congress revealed, there have been incorrect tendencies on the part of some state and economic organs. In the name of ensuring the leading role of the party, they have been asking the permission of party organizations and forums

for everything. They have been attempting to legitimize their activities. Such attitudes have nothing to do with ensuring the leading role of the party forums and organizations but are motivated by a desire to share responsibility with these groups; therefore they should be severely combatted and the party organizations should not permit such things.

The range of issues with which the party organs and organizations are concerned is very broad. It covers political, ideological, economic, cultural, and defense problems and the entire life of the country. But, in the name of leadership and management, these groups should not become involved in details, in minor matters or in matters which the party has delegated to the governmental organs, the economic organs or its other levers, for solution.

The work of the party is, above all, work with individuals, work to educate, enlighten, mobilize and organize them. This makes it possible for the party to successfully carry out its main leadership function and, at the same time, it eliminates a great danger for a party in power--its transformation into an operating organism with state functions, a danger which the party has always combatted and has not allowed to appear.

The 40-year experience of the party and the documents of the 8th party congress prove the correctness and vitality of the Marxist-Leninist teaching that the more the revolution progresses and expands, the more the leading role of the party should be strengthened and perfected in every sphere of life and of state and social activity. At the same time, it is a crushing blow against the "theories" of the disciples of the bourgeoisie and against revisionism, such as those on the reduction of the role of the party to a "means of ideological influence," on the "party of all the people," on "political pluralism," "the great and single democratic party," etc, whose aim is to leave the working class without its conscientious vanguard in the revolution and in socialist construction. History has relegated these "theories" to the dustbin.

CSO: 2100/34

HUNGARIAN AIRLINE CRASH AT PRAGUE RUZYNE AIRPORT TOLD

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 Oct 81 p 7

[Text] Prague (from our reporters)--Yesterday, the air traffic at the Prague Ruzyne airport was flowing at its accustomed rhythm and speed as any other day. Planes landing and taking off in all directions were taking their turns on runway 31. At 14.19 hours, a Hungarian MALEV Airline aircraft, a scheduled Amsterdam-Prague-Budapest flight 641, was making its approach. The weather around the capital reflected a typical autumn day. Low clouds and haze were reducing visibility, a situation which no pilot appreciates. The crew to control tower communications were strictly following a hundred times repeated routine exchanges. Employees at the airport were doing their work and subconsciously registering each take-off and landing even when it was not a part of their job descriptions. And everybody watching the blue and white Hungarian aircraft could see that the landing maneuver was not following the usual procedures.

The pilot must have his hands full, people on the ground and in the surrounding buildings were saying. The scenes that followed appeared to be cut out of a disaster movie. The airplane hit the runway hard with its front wheels. While the rear landing gear started smoldering, the left front tire split, the jet engine pitch rose, the aircraft made a sharp left turn off the runway, grass was flying through the air and then, with a crashing sound, the fuselage broke off just behind the wings.

The aircraft remained helplessly grounded next to the landing strip with 83 passengers and nine crew members on board, its front landing gear dug in one meter deep into the soft terrain. By that time the sound of sirens filled the air. Fire engines left their stations and rescue vehicles were called in immediately. This was the most critical moment of the rescue operation. Will the jet fuel ignite or not? The [aircraft] doors and emergency exits opened and, with trained hands, the crew dropped the emergency slides. The first passengers started to leave the aircraft. To the consternation of those who were watching, the rescued passengers began to light up their cigarettes. Once again, they were lucky. No jet fuel was leaking from the aircraft and so, even now, there was no fire. Two men in white freed the aircraft pilot Takac in the pilot compartment and provided first aid to the slightly injured passengers. In the Pod Petrinem hospital six ambulatory beds were standing by for the ambulance arrivals. However, they were not needed because only two passengers were brought here. An American and a Canadian with spine injuries. As we were

informed just prior to press deadline by the resident physician Dr Pavel Balan, the men were not in shock and their injuries were slight. "Perhaps they did not even realize that they have really been born the second time." The aircraft captain Takac was hospitalized at the Motole university surgical clinic of Professor Nahodil. The injured [pilot] is out of danger.

The transportation minister of the CSSR, Vladimir Blazek, has appointed a commission of experts to investigate the air crash; Hungarian experts will participate in the investigation.

CSO: 2400/101

HEGEDUS AIRS VIEWS ON POLISH MILITARY TAKEOVER

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 15 Dec 81 p 3

[Text] "The power takeover by the military is politically and sociologically understandable. It is too early to judge it from an ethical viewpoint." Such is the opinion of Andras Hegedus, Hungary's premier between 1955 - 1956. This man who called Soviet troops into Hungary in 1956 and who has been one of the most prolific critics of the Kadar regime since the 1960's now takes a stand midway between his two former positions in evaluating the Polish situation. Naturally, there is no approval, but neither is there a vehement emotional denunciation as was the case after the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia. At age 59, Hegedus, recipient of a pension resulting from a high communist award, is torn between a concept of absolute freedom and reality as its exists in East Europe.

"Without presuming to be capable of analyzing Jaruzelski's personality, I consider him representative of the rationale of the military decision maker who comprehends the true problems of Poland more clearly than an ideologist. He could find the right way between extreme conservatism and a high-handed exercise of power of the kind which toppled both Gomulka and Gierek. It would be the sort of power which could cooperate with the various autonomies which have arisen on a partnership basis." Hegedus fears nothing more greatly than civil war: "It now depends on both sides whether the process of democratization initiated in August 1980 can proceed."

According to Hegedus, "on the one hand the military leadership must have learned from past experiences which indicate that it is impossible to install a monolithic power structure permanently in Poland." It was issues of this sort that resulted in the overthrow of both Party chiefs up to 1980. "To repeat the mistake a third time would be too much." On the other hand, he warns that "the autonomous movements must learn that unless they seek unity, they will plunge Poland into civil war which will leave them no future. Aside from irrational heroism, they have nothing to offer from such behavior."

At the same time Hegedus speaks of a "magic formula" of communism, a third way which differs both from the path of government administration taken in the Soviet Union in 1917 and the self-management adopted in Yugoslavia in 1947. He sees the struggle between power and the masses which took place before Jaruzelski's coup as the beginning of a historical compromise which failed to become institutionalized but which, in his opinion, is necessary. "This compromise has not

yet inevitably come to an end." The rapid dissolution of power over the past months have made the step of martial law a nearly logical necessity because of two simultaneous dangers, but it should be terminated after a period of consolidation. "One of the dangers consists of political factors: the compromise theory is inconceivable without power; it is based on a contract between two forces. Without power, there is anarchy."

According to Hegedus, the second danger is the following: Because of Poland's geopolitical position, the other Warsaw Pact members could not tolerate anarchy since this would threaten the entire balance of power in Europe. "Although the danger of civil war was and continues to be acknowledged, [without the takeover,] the threat of invasion for geopolitical reasons would have existed."

Leaving themselves no room for doubt, those who analyze Eastern power relations affirm the widely-held Western view that there has been no state power in Poland since August 1980. "This erroneous view has led to conclusions which disrupt the framework for possible compromise. Western views have strengthened the notion that compromise could provide only a temporary solution and could thus never evolve into a firm institutional form."

Hegedus, who prolonged his visit to Vienna by a day because of developments in Poland--his avidity for total information is constantly apparent--does not consider the power takeover a military coup in the classical sense. "In the first place, Jaruzelski was the elected head of the Party and, in the second place, this is not to be interpreted as a power takeover by the military but as the reinstatement of government control which would have been impossible through Party organizations. Of course, it would have been better if this step could have been avoided. I consider a rollback from military to civilian political power not only possible but necessary."

At this point the concept of ethics arose. "I will beware of judging the whole affair from a moral viewpoint, above all assuming the right to justify it. Ethical judgement depends on whether Poland can avoid civil war by having taken this step. Naturally, there is great danger that it can break out--possibly as a result of a general strike--before the government can begin to lay the groundwork for a compromise." Hegedus' criticism of Jaruzelski: "For this reason I would have held it necessary for the military authorities to state unequivocally their intention of restoring civilian political rule. Unfortunately, this did not happen."

CSO: 2300/86

MORAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN MARXISTS, CHRISTIANS POSSIBLE

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Nov 81 p 7

[Article by Laszlo Makkai: "Dialogue of Marxists and Christians"]

[Text] On 25 September leaders and workers of the Philosophical Institute of the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences], and of the philosophy faculties of the Lajos Kossuth Science University and the Debrecen Agricultural Sciences University held a symposium on religious theory as guests of the Academy Committee in Debrecen to which they invited several of the leading theologians of the domestic Protestant churches. The next day several of these same people participated in a dialogue between Protestant theologians and Marxist researchers on Protestantism.

The basic note of the symposium was sounded by an introductory lecture by Jozsef Lukacs analyzing the present relationship between Marxism and Christianity in that he set down the apparently parodoxical fact that while religion is one form of alienation, it is so under certain historical conditions and as such its current role can be part of the struggle against alienation. The socialist revolution and the struggle for the liberation of the colonial world made the Christian churches see that they should go back to their own progressive traditions but not in the traditional way, not striving for power positions but rather struggling with ideological weapons against the brutal manifestations of inhumanity. Christian humanity and Marxist humanism can unite in this struggle and they have frequently done so already.

One conditions for the search for new paths is that Marxist researchers on religion have a basic knowledge of contemporary Christianity, analyzing in a scientific way its developmental trends. The three chief reports at the symposium examined the relationship between faith and knowledge, the concepts of man and personality and social policy ideals in contemporary Christian teachings. The speakers were aware of the different Christian denominations but the emphasis was on what is most important from the Hungarian viewpoint, Protestantism and Roman Catholocism. They spoke with recognition of the progressive motifs of the Second Vatican Council and the openness shown by it toward social justice, but still the opinion developed that "a progressive reception of social progress developed earlier and more markedly" in Protestantism. not least of all because Protestantism "shows a greater affinity for making use of the contemporary profane philosophical and ideological apparatus" (Jozsef Poor) or asserts that "a harmony between faith and knowledge cannot, but need not, be produced" (Gusztav Gecse).

Special attention was turned toward the so-called service theology of the domestic Protestant churches, which determinedly rejects methods aimed at ruling, regarding as its task charity and service to society in every good cause. This theology "does not alienate the believing strata of our population from their tasks in this world, does not turn them against their obligations in this world, but rather presents them as tasks and obligations following from their faith. This interpretation of man and personality approaches the individual in contact with his real social relationships and tries to arous in the believer a feeling of responsibility for the great, fateful questions of mankind" (Jozsef Poor). The social-policy teachings of this tehology correspond to this also, recognizing the justice of the socialist revolution and the moral higher order of socialism, as aspirations in accordance with the humanizing will of God serving historical truth, approving the limitation on the selfish aspects of private property, respecting work in that it enriches not only the individual but also the community and taking a stand against war and for peace. All this is a "qualitatively new social doctrine" which does not break with Calbin but rather modernizes and further develops his initiatives. Thus it can be said that "such a theological transformation has not taken place in the Protestant churches since the Reformation" (Istvan Konya). This theological self-realization is all the more significant because it was not simply forced by historical events, but has as its source a return to the Bible and a new interpretation of it.

Meeting with the new phenomena of religion also prompted the Marxist researchers on religion to inquire again of the sources, the classics of Marxism. For example, one of the reports at the symposium pointed out that Marx posted as a goal the transcending of both religion and philosophy in "positive humanism." Transcendence, aimed at transcending bare reality, is a property not only of religion but also of philosophy, including Marxist philosophy, but the latter realizes this goal via immanence, via real social existence, and not in an illusory fashion. At the same time, one can observe in contemporary religioup development also a rapprochement of transcendence and immanence. "Thus Marxism is not only the successor to and transcendence of philosophy, but also--in the final analysis--to and of the ideals of religion.... The cooperation of Christians and Marxists is not contingent and by chance...but rather it is a struggle against the world of alienation which necessarily goes in the same direction, although from different foundations and in different forms. Because the basic dividing line is not drawn between Christians and Marxists but rather between the Christians and the Marxists on one side and those on the other side who...reject every higher ideal in regard to the individual and historic prospects of human existence" (Ferenc Lendvai L.). In accordance with this is the recognition that "barren secularization and the increasing absence of religion in themselves can appear as victories only for an abstract atheism" because there has been no justification of the hope that "the victorious Marxist world view would take the place of the soil slipping out from under religious faith on a mass scale." There is no lack of evidence here that religion is being replaced by "world-view or ideological apathy, agnosticism, skepticism, the freezing of individual existence into barren particularity and anew alienation" (Istvan Jori).

The dialogue following the symposium started from the thesis that while both Marxism and Christianity must oppose nihilism, this obligation to cooperate cannot eclipse the fundamentalworld-view differences. "The limits of cooperation continue to be defined by our antagonistic world-view starting points," it was emphasized from the Marxist side (Istvan Konya), and this received a clear Christian answer: "At present, we see no possibility that Christian theology can take over dialectic

historical materialism as a fundamental phiosophical view, or that Marxism can take over the starting point of Christian theology" (Elemer Kocsis). Under the present conditions of our thought apparatus and world-view positions the boundaries of atheism and of faith in Gof cannot be crossed over; the Marxists reject the idea of convergence just as the Christians reject the attempts of syncretism.

So the greatest difference is in the chief question, in the teachings concerning man. Atheism is "an essential motif of Marxism, because it recognizes no other author or player in history but man" (Jozsef Lukacs) while Christianity recognizes no other type of man than one who is "in the image of God, a being createdin the likeness of God" and as such "ordained to serve one another with love as communal beings, thus remaining, as it were, in communion with God also, creating, as it were, a second world with their work and abilities" (Elemer Kocsis).

But going beyond this obvious and actual opposition, there are also apparent contradictions between Marxism and Christianity deriving from differences of terminology which can be clarified and dispersed by mutual goodwill and devoted research.

In the final analysis, however, neither the apparent nor the real contradictions should hinder the moral understanding and cooperation of Marxists and Christians. "We may debate about what we regard as the source of moral values, about what we regard as the source of rules and norms, but certainly our views should not diverge in regard to the real demands, content and norms of morality...." Indeed, "it was not by chance that Marx made a distinction between atheism, as theoretical humanism, and practical humanism, communism.... Is communism, as practical humanism, unacceptable to a believing Christian? Obviously it is impossible to join up with theoretical humanism, with atheism," but the path toward practical humanism "is not closed." In other matters "we should leave the decision to history" (Jozsef Lukacs).

It was noted, as if in approval of this, that the theology of service, which in itself is not unique to Hungary, has a unique Hungarian aspect in that "service involves positive cooperation with Marxists and active participation in the building of our socialist society." This decision of the Protestant churches was born of faith and they assumed with this the risk of faith too, but this demands the recognition that "Christianity does not necessarily represent social backwardness even in socialism," and it is a condition for productive cooperation that "we be able to regard the religious person and the nonreligious person as of equal value without reservations from the theoretical viewpoint" (Karoly Prohle).

The answer to anxieties in this regard was given earlier and from a most worthy source. Jozsef Szigeti quoted in the dialogue the words of the historian Zsigmond Pal Pach: "We must see and appreciate the fact that religion transmits moral values and norms--according to its own use of concepts--between God and the believers, in other words between society and the individual; which is to say it prescribes moral rules for human conduct, for the behavior of individuals toward their fellows. Thus, a religious believer adhering to human-moral norms may come closer to us, may stand closer to us, the Marxists, than an atheist who is indifferent toward his fellows. We must see this and must respect religion as one possible branch of that complex system mediating the link between the individual and society, as one possible counterbalance to keep the natural individualism of man from becoming barren egoism, cold selfishness and alienation from the community. The other side

of the coin, naturally, is that the churches, church personalities and representatives of church communities must see and bear witness to the fact that in contemporary Hungary active participation in the building of socialism is compatible with the religious life. If this insight is mutual, then Marxists and believers can and will really find one another in the national community of socialist Hungary" (TARSADALMI SZEMLE, No 5, 1981, pp 40-410.

The dialogue is continuing. Bishop Dr Tibor Bartha has undertaken to be the host for the next round within the framework of the College of Doctors of Theology, the scientific forum of the Reformed Church.

8984
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ENTRENCHED BUREAUCRATS SEEN THREATENING REFORM

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Nov 81 p 5

[Article by Andras Banki: "Bottleneck"]

[Text] The results of sociological studies prove that safety becomes an increasingly emphasized value in leadership style with advancing years--sticking to tested methods--whether they worked or not--and distrust of the new or different. It is also a statistical fact that about half of those in positions of power, those working in leadership categories in Hungary, were born in the 1920's, and so are now treading down their fifties. So the question arises whether the preponderance of this age group in the leadership is not an objective obstacle to the renewal aspirations germinating or already shooting up in our society.

I do not like honor laps and I did not take pen in hand to write about the historical merits or mistakes, luck or misfortune of those who are now in their fifties. We are well acquainted with the historical antecedants which raised this age group, the generation of "bright winds," very young, to leading offices at the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's. And we are well acquainted with those historical events in which this generation--because of their positions--played the chief role and acted as a driving force: The personality cult, the counterrevolution, the consolidation, the new economic mechanism and then its sudden halt and revival. So why do I refer to these processes? Because one can conclude from their contradictory tendencies that this generation does not have a uniform profile; there were and there are among them both progressive and retrograde forces.

I am 30 years old; but my faith and trust in the younger age groups does not derive from some sort of generational prejudice. I could have no cause for prejudice because even the younger--and really not so young--generations cannot be regarded as uniform. They also--like the older generation--are divided by an inclination to conservatism, dogmatism or apologetics or by receptivity to reforms, attraction to the new and different; they are divided by a compromising or uncompromising attitude, intellectual sluggishness or intellectual freshness, knowledge or ignorance and by much else besides. For my part, I side with unceasing renewal, progressive changes and changers and with all those who have similar values, intentions and aspirations, whether they be young or old. And if I place in the foreground the younger of them--those 20 or 30 or 40 years old--it is simply because the stakes are higher for them, objectively, since they have longer careers before them; they can win more or lose more and as a result they are more interestedin development, in the formation and transformation of reality.

But, it is the predecessors who decide with greatest weight in the selection of successors. In itself this would not be a problem; but it is dangerous in those organizations, those ossified hierarchies, in which the little chiefs serve the big chiefs and the big chiefs serve the bigger chiefs in an unprincipled way in which, in this way, subjective motives play the chief role. In such organizations--and unfortunately there are a good many of them--the predecessors have won their dubious merits in the noxious equalization of results, juggling them until they cannot be measured, in the ideologized elimination of the principle of utility and uselessness, in the corruption of the humane into the pseudohumane and one cannot expect them not to choose their successors from their own "camp." And it is true of these situations that frequently a really good leader is not the result of the selection mechanism but rather of the failure of the contraselection.

It is a crucial question of our social development today whether we can develop our institutional system and our institutional mechanisms so as to give greater scope to a "more socialist" development of our social and production relationships, whether we can progress further in the democratization of power and property in spite of a bureaucracy which reproduces itself. And this is an indispensable conditions if we are to make relationships lacking interest into relationships involving interest, give greater freedom to responsible management of property and the creative spirit, realize the performance principle, encourage undertakings and expand individual and collective freedom.

Let us not be idealists; what is involved here is a struggle. And we cannot expect from the bureaucracy--and the bureacrats in it--that, by their very nature, they will deign to seize the banner of reform. Despite this the situation is far from hopeless. And the less so, the stronger the political will urging the introduction and realization of the reforms and the stronger the mass base for the reforms.

And if we are talking about a struggle, then naturally, a key question is who those in leading posts are. It is urgent to think about this. In the present situation, requiring a difficult and swift development, can we permit ourselves leaders who are bound to the old habits by too strong ties dup to their positions and their political, ideological views? To me nothing is more obvious than that the reform policy and th realization to the reforms have personal consequences. An organized, strongly centralized guidance and redistribution based on the faith placed in the omnipotence of the state--it is true, not without necessity--required a different leadership style than the more independent management replacing it, one more strongly influenced by the market automatisms. And in this developing structure we no longer need leaders who reliably carry out higher directives, since the number of higher directives will probably greatly diminish. It follows that greater emphasis must be given in the work of leaders--and not only economic leaders--to such values as expertise, creativity, enterprising spirit and independent management. The more such leaders there are, the more quickly will the goals of the reform policy be realized; and the more consistent and the more daring policy is in working out and introducing reforms, the more this will favor the taking root of the new leadership style, the more it will favor the new type of leaders.

It is obvious that one cannot simply dismiss the wornout part of a generation, and even less can one expect them to dismiss themselves. But an acceleration of the change of generations is unavoidable in the interest of development; and this requires

a more varied approach to the problem. The generations behind those in their fifties--those in their forties, thirties and twenties--have piled up on one another. They stand in the anteroom, waiting to be invited in. Who among them will be summoned? The question demands attention not without cause. Because the exchange of generations can be successful and can serve development only if it is accompanied by a change of values and by a new quality.

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COMMANDER OUTLINES GOALS OF ARMY GENERAL STAFF ACADEMY

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17 Nov 81 p 4

[Article by Maj Gen Dr Jozef Kaminski, commander of the General Staff Academy of the Polish Army: "Training for the Future"]

[Text] The community of the General Staff Academy of the Polish Army [ASG WP] has started a new academic year in optimistic anticipation of the further socialist development of the People's Republic of Poland and strengthening of its defense capability in permanent alliance with the states of socialist community. We are convinced that bringing the country out of the present deep crisis is possible primarily by way of enhancing authentic responsibility and joint responsibility for the increase in productivity and quality of the work carried out, for the fullest possible, rational utilization of the workday, and by way of strengthening personal discipline and social discipline, that of the collectives which we act within.

Coming out in favor of the constant and everyday implementation of the resolution of the Fourth Plenum of the PZRP by everybody in his position and in his field, we also require more of ourselves and plan for more ambitious goals in this academic year, both in the field of instruction and ideological indoctrination and that of scientific research. We view the extremely difficult situation in the country primarily from the standpoint of our defense capability and through the looking glass of the current and projected politicomilitary situation in Europe and the world, and also in the context of the discord between the detente and arms limitation trend represented by socialist countries and the course of threat and arms race pursued by imperialism.

Due to the role and importance of the ASG WP in our defense system we feel increasingly responsible for the situation and socialist development of People's Poland, for the continual consolidation and upgrading of the level of combat readiness of military commands, staffs and troops, and for the state and level of national defense.

Wholehearted adherence to ideology, high discipline, a feeling of responsibility and high skills of professional cadre, especially of the command and staff cadre, determine and posture of the armed forces, their everyday preparedness for the defense of the socialist motherland. The statement to this effect may, of course, be considered trivial. The ASG WP trains and indoctrinates exactly this kind of cadres--

future academy-graduate officers, who will, after their graduation from the academy, hold key positions in our armed forces and in the institutions associated with the sphere of defense.

In its 34 years of existence, the academy has undergone many changes.

However, it has always proceeded from the assumptions and implemented the policies laid down at the time the academy was founded. It has been incessantly improving the process of training and indoctrination and scientific-research activity, while simultaneously shaping high ideologicopolitical qualities, morale and discipline of its cadets. The academy has graduated thousands of officers who occupied and occupy today the highest posts in our armed forces. We take pride in the fact that the present first secretary of the PZPR, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski is a graduate of our school.

In recent years, the years 1977 and 1980, the panel of the minister of defense has twice evaluated the activity of the ASG WP and offered general directions for its further improvement on the initiative of General Jaruzelski.

The directives adopted at the panel meetings have been consistently carried out, creatively developed and enriched by new contents ensuing from the requirements of the current situation. In the era of sweeping changes occuring in all spheres of political, social, economic and scientific life, in times of the scientific-technical revolution, in the environment of continually intensifying ideological struggle, we consider it indispensable to further improve instruction, ideological indoctrination and scientific-research activities in order to ensure the safeguarding and defense of historical accomplishments of the Polish people and the preservation of its independent existence. In particular, we stress combining of training and indoctrination and the shaping of the personality of the contemporary commander and staff officer.

It should be recalled that the current official documents describing the profile and structure of the AGS WP define the "academy-graduate officer" as an officer who has been comprehensively trained and prepared to carry out command and staff functions in tactical, operational and central echelons of command, both in times of war and peace. This, of course, is a very general statement, which I would like to explain and clarify below.

First--the "academy-graduate officer" is an officer who has been comprehensively trained and prepared to discharge various command/staff and control functions that require assuming responsibility (or joint responsibility) for the organization and coordination of actions.

Second--"the academy-graduate officer" is an officer possessing deep and comprehensive knowledge, theoretically and, which should be stressed, methodologically prepared to discharge (regardless of the echelon of command) all the control and staff functions that require creative tactico-operational thinking and the sense of responsibility and self-dependence in action. From the practical standpoint, he should be prepared to discharge the function of a coordinator for the actions of different combat arms and branches of the arms forces within the framework of respective echelons of command.

Third--"the academy-graduate officer" is an officer prepared for the discharging of control and staff functions mainly in time of war. The needs of war must be crucial to the direction, subject and scope of his training. However, he must also be

prepared for action in time of peace, especially as far as the training of troops and staffs is concerned, that is, preparing them for action in time of war and maintaining continuous and high combat readiness.

Fourth--"the academy-graduate officer" is an officer with an exemplary ideologico-political and moral posture, social involvement and high discipline; he is a fervent patriot, and, at the same time, an internationalist.

Besdies, the academy-graduate officer should be distinguished by his ability for quick mental concentration under difficult and extremely complicated conditions, the logic of thinking and rational activity, industriousness and organizational resourcefulness. He should also be prepared, specifically in the ASG WP, to acquire knowledge independently and continuously and to spread this knowledge after the study has been completed.

Therefore, the academy-graduate officer should not only possess comprehensive, up-to-date and prospective knowledge, but also be able to think primarily in the categories of our state and its armed forces as well as the entire socialist community and its defense system. The officer should also acquire the skill to independently digest the new achievements resulting from the development of military technology and the art of war, especially in the art of operations of both friendly and aggressor forces.

The academy-graduate officer is a man of solid, substantial knowledge and practical skills, which are the foundation of mature and highly efficient organization and control of combat, battles and operations. He also possesses the methodological knowledge which facilitates solving on his own new problems in the art of war and, in general, those pertaining to the country's defense. The academy-graduate officer should be distinguished by initiative and self-dependence, sense of reality and inspiration. He should be a commander with comprehensive erudition and wide intellectual perspectives.

to meet these requirements which are only seemingly excessive, the academy-graduate officer must be a man of integrity, with stalwartness, modesty and an impeccable ideologicomoral posture as well as political and social involvement. This is why we shpae and foster in the course of our instruction and training process, from the very first year of studies, the mental proficiency and integrity of character of future academy-graduate officers. During the training course in the ASG WP we attach no less importance to the shaping of academy-graduate officer's personality than to his general and professional training.

We shape primarily the traits of the officer's character which will be indispensable for him in carrying out his everyday duties. We count among them strong willpower, decisiveness, composure, especially in complicated and conflict situations, ability to expend mental and physical effort over a long run, boldness in decisionmaking, persistence in action and absolute loyalty in carrying out binding decisions of superior officers. We strive to shape and develop tactico-operational imagination, the ability to project and predict the development of a situation, and, where necessary, to take calculated risks and assume responsibility for the outcome.

The academy-graduate officer must be courageous, must have an accordingly shaped character and be ready to defend his views even if they are unpopular at the moment and do not cause the proverbial smile of approval among superior officers.

I must stress that the shaping of positive character traits of the future academy-graduate officer is difficult and cannot be accomplished by classroom training alone. Hence, we attach immense importance to diligent and persistent work of each instructor with each cadet on a personal basis, to individual instruction from the first year of study on. This difficult task which we pose before our instructors engenders high responsibility and requires of them not only adequate training, but also authentic involvement and incessant striving for qualitative reevaluation of the effects obtained by their labor.

Because of this, we will require in the new academic year a further improvement of the ways and means of training and indoctrination, especially in target work, individual instruction activity which is skillfully directed. The goal which this activity consistently strives to attain is the comprehensive training of a clever academy-graduate officer, and, at the same time, a highly involved politicosocial activist. The academy-graduate officer must stand out as a superior-grade specialist, an organizer of contemporary and future battlefield situations, and of efficient and rational actions of large personnel teams, always under difficult, complicated and nonreproducible conditions and situations. Also, because of this, there must be an individual approach to each cadet of the ASG. His psychointellectual, moral and professional/personal traits must be understood in depth.

The individual aspect of learning is intimately intertwined with programmed training of the cadets. Professional training of the academy-graduate officers involves primarily a solid and comprehensive education in tactics and operations. Due to this, the art of war, and especially tactics and the art of operations are the superior integrating subjects which bind all the other subjects taught into a definitive hierarchical structure of the system of study in the ASG WP which is internally coherent.

By continually perfecting the traditional means and ways of education of the future academy-graduate officers, we strive for an opportunity for them to compare theory with practice in the study process. To ensure this, the cadets and also the school's faculty actively participate in the training exercises of military commands, headquarters and troops. For this purpose, we extensively use the training base of military units. We set up field camps in summer and winter, conduct command/staff exercises in the field employing technical means of control, organize military history field trips. We closely link the study in the field with history, the remote and the most modern, especially with the battles of the 1st and 2nd armies of the Polish Army and the operations of the Soviet Army.

The primary status of the tactico-operational training makes possible and guarantees an increasing amalgamation of the processes of instruction, ideological indoctrination and scientific research, which determine the everyday rhythm of the school's activity. The scientific-research activity constantly enlivens, enriches and increasingly markedly defines the quality content of the training of future academy-graduate officers. At present, no process of tactico-operational training at the required level could be carried out without these activities. Due to the inspirational role of the Army General Staff and close cooperation with the Main Board of Combat Training, the scientific-research activities serve to develop the theory of strategy, art of operations and tactics, being not only a training for highly skilled command and staff personnel, but also a meaningful contribution of the academy to the cause of strengthening the country's defense capability.

Training the personnel in the field of tactics and operations, we simultaneously try to foster among the future commanders, staff officers, commanders and officers of combat arms and branches of the armed forces and services high ideologicopolitical and moral qualities, based on deeply patriotic and internationalist values, on the conscious conviction that battle in defense of the socialist motherland is the superior responsibility of every officer.

Consciously and with high appreciation of the goals and tasks facing the ASC WP in the new academic year, we pose increasing demands in our activities, especially in instruction and indoctrination. We think that we not only have an opportunity, but all the prerequisites and conditions as well to realize our intentions. We are concentrating on solving the main tasksk on which success hinges; we use our time, the material base and our creative potential better and more efficiently. We require of the personnel of our school a high sense of responsibility and joint responsibility for the qualitative results of our work and everyday activities.

In connection with this, we attach tremendous, indeed, fundamental importance in this field to everyday party-political work, work with people and for people, to consolidation and bringing the collectives together in groups, panels, chairs, departments, and particular organization units. All our undertakings, organizational measures and executive actions are aimed at constantly improving the processes of instruction, ideological indoctrination and scientific research, at the comprehensive training of future academy-graduate officers, at carrying out difficult and extremely responsible tasks connected with command/staff activities in our armed forces.

9761
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SOLIDARITY POSITION ON SELF-GOVERNING SCHOOL DEBATED

Interview with KKP Presidium Member Waszkiewicz

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 14 Oct 81 p 3

[Interview with Dr Jan Waszkiewicz, Member of the Presidium of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity National Consultative Commission (KKP) by Krzysztof Maslon: "Vision of a Self-governing School"; date and place not given]

[Question] Between the first and second rounds of the NSZZ Solidarity Congress, the delegates deliberated in 13 problem groups, preparing the bases of a program to express the union attitude regarding the most essential questions of our social life. You presided over the deliberations of the problem group devoted to matters of education and culture. What activities does NSZZ Solidarity want to undertake for the good of Polish education?

[Answer] I should like to stress that we discussed education and culture together. We do not divide the program into two groups of questions and, considering that culture and education are the property of society as a whole, the property of the whole nation, we want, as a union, to lavish particular care on them.

[Question] Of what will this care consist?

[Answer] We must have a timeframe for our activities. The union program is intended for the next 2 years. We know very well what kind of years they will be. Given the deepening crisis and the problems connected with the introduction of economic reform, NSZZ Solidarity cannot easily be expected to advance the health of the schools in a thorough-going way, and yet we must lead our schools out of the abyss. That is our first task.

[Question] What do you mean by the term "cultural abyss"?

[Answer] Culture and education have been seen as nonproduction sectors of the national economy. Therefore, they have been treated with neglect for many years. Not only has very little money been set aside for them, but also, in every difficult situation, economies have been made at their expense. Thence have come grave deficiencies and poverty in education. There are, perhaps, still more serious signs of backwardness--poor administration of the school system or falseness in teaching methods and subject matter.

[Question] The schools are really in a difficult situation. Is there a chance to improve it? Can Union activities be of help to the schools?

[Answer] I think so. We shall strive for an authentic socialization of the educational system. We shall lend support to all attempts at decentralization of the educational system. The school is such a special place in which, if I may say so, there are many subjects in action. For there are teachers, and the employees in general, the youth, parents and, finally, educational authorities. Therefore, the slogan of self-government has very many multiple meanings. The form of a school should probably be decided by the local community. Note that fruitful results never come about when activities are carried on in opposition to the environment. So I think the future of the schools lies in the direction of their interaction with the local community and the local self-governing body.

[Question] This can lead to a situation where there are as varied schools as there are local self-governing bodies. A resident of a city or a village has a different view of the school. There will be varied demands, varied levels.

[Answer] We are aware of that. There will be inequalities. But don't they exist now? They do. And how! And, after all, when the local community really commits itself to the cause of its school, it won't be a bad school, for no one, after all, wants to do his own children any harm.

[Question] Varied schools, therefore varied programs, varied courses...

[Answer] Of course. The only common thing should be a certain program core. The rest should correspond to the needs of the community. Take religion-connected matters, for one. Atheistic upbringing--and I stress atheistic as opposed to secular--in a religious environment has lamentable effects. A child is brought up, formed, above all, by his family, his surroundings. You can't suddenly demolish his defined world order. When he grows up, he will choose his own truth. A child's head cannot really be a battleground for two opposed points of view of so weighty a variety. It's not the proper place for an ideological battlefield.

[Question] In the recommendations made by the problem group, I found a statement referring to changes in the school system. What are we to understand by this?

[Answer] The principal change is that to be effected by the activity of self-governing bodies within the school bounds. The role of the school administration will be limited, and it will finally begin to exercise a service function in the teaching process. I also think that we will stop seeing the influx into the school system of people who have not proven themselves in another line of work. The self-governing body will assure most control functions over the school. When people come to understand that the makeup of the school really depends on them, the work of many inspectors will become unnecessary. And this will be true for other areas of the system as well. What, e.g., will the inspector have to do in the preschool?

[Question] Here I come to the defense of educational inspectors. In the end, if a preschool superintendent steals, such an inspector can be dismissed.

[Answer] Let's not kid ourselves. No one is more concerned about children's interests than their parents. If they find out that such a person is stealing, they will throw her out. But now appeals are made to the PIH [State Trade Inspectorate], the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] and educational authorities, and often the matter drags on without results.

[Question] Do you, then, see the self-government as the future of education?

[Answer] Not exclusively. We must look for new educational solutions, such solutions as schools for writers, working according to their own programs. Let us only hope--and we place enormous emphasis on this--that the truth be taught in our schools. This demand extends to all of the teaching program, and especially history, the Polish language and civic upbringing. We should not set their heads spinning over such a fundamental matter as the history of our own people. And returning to systems questions: schools should be established by various associations, institutions...

[Question] Such as the PAX schools?

[Answer] Yes, except that until now there have been few such schools: there are several run by religious orders, and there is PAX. To take this further--there is an obstacle created to the establishment of good private schools when the entire material responsibility falls on the persons running the schools. The history of our educational system owes much to such schools.

[Question] But...

[Answer] Let me forestall the question or, rather, the reproach of elitism. Of course, such a school must cost a good deal, but it would serve as the basis of a whole developed stipend system which must be created--a system in which the union would take part--to diminish the material barrier.

[Question] But what will happen when such a school falls into the hands of someone who is unsuited?

[Answer] And how many such persons have made their way into education until now? Let us not fear too greatly. Today's school is not the school described by Dickens. We are not living in the 19th century. Poland is not a society of illiterates. People have a very good sense of where work stops and shoddiness begins.

[Question] You cannot deny, however, that such shoddiness can occur.

[Answer] No, I cannot. But if mistakes are made, there will be considerably fewer victims of these mistakes than formerly, when the schools deserted whole generations of people whose education was injurious in many ways, leaving them crippled. Moreover, the self-governing body, to which I return again and again, ought to stand as an added security against perversions and excesses.

[Question] You have so much to say about the self-governing body. Do you likewise look to student self-governing movements?

[Answer] Of course, we are counting on student self-government, on the young people's familiarity with their own terrain, conditions, for taking action, potentials and needs. Ultimately, without the participation of those who are directly interested, we cannot embark upon our work.

[Question] Several of the concepts which you have outlined are very far-reaching. Meanwhile, the everyday school reality with which we have to deal is a far cry from that reality of which we would dream. In addition, the school is a specific working ground. Many teachers do not belong to NSZZ Solidarity; many will not wish to accept this program, for various reasons. Will the union program not hang in a void, or will it not merely cause friction in teacher's groups?

[Answer] Our program represents a vision for the future; it designates the direction to be taken. Thus, we do not define any target point. However, I believe that our demands are just and will be accepted. Of course, we are counting on difficulties and the resistance of a part of the community, even the resistance of parents and students themselves. What is to be said of the role of the local self-governing body in the school when, e.g., in a given locality, parents do not wish to meddle in the school's affairs, or they remain indifferent?

We wish to give a chance to those who really desire a better school for all of us. And there are many such people. To use a term which has become fashionable of late, let me say that I believe in the network of people of goodwill. And besides, we will not undertake spontaneous, radical activities. We must set up new schools rather than liquidating bad ones; we must attract good teachers into the profession, rather than dismissing poor teachers from their jobs.

[Question] We have finally come, then, to the constructive program. May I ask you once again to introduce yourself to our readers. What is your connection with education?

[Answer] I am 37 years old. By virtue of my education I am a mathematician. Before going into union work, I was a futurologist working in the Wroclaw Technical University Center for Prognostic Research. I have also worked in various other fields of learning: philosophy, sociology and the theory and practice of teaching. For 4 years I taught mathematics in a Gottwald-type school having a mathematics profile. I likewise lectured at the Technical University. I also had a certain theoretical input into the formulation of the ideas of the Wroclaw School of the Future. And very recently I participated as a union expert in the talks conducted by NSZZ Solidarity with the Ministry of Education and Upbringing.

Rebuttal of Waszkiewicz's Position

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 21 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Gdoula]

[Text] One week ago in this column we published the text of an interview with Dr Jan Waszkiewicz, Presidium member of the National Commission of the Independent Self-governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity. In that interview, entitled "A

Vision of the Self-governing School," Dr Waszkiewicz outlined the major directions which, in the opinion of an active member of the largest trade union in the country, our schools should take.

Krzysztof Maslon, who conducted the interview during the course of the NSZZ Solidarity Congress, essentially abandoned the idea of polemicizing with the views of his interviewee. He expressed a series of his own doubts and reservations, but did not polemicize, since this would have made the interview, an already lengthy text, considerably longer. It was rather a question of presenting our readers with the thoughts of NSZZ Solidarity operatives on general questions in the field of education.

In no way, however, does this mean that we concur with all the views of J. Waszkiewicz. Let us forego quoting such statements as "falseness in teaching contents and methods," and let us not question whether, in fact, it is possible to speak of falseness in teaching methods. We are ultimately dealing with an interview, and not with a scholarly or journalistic text.

Let us concern ourselves with J. Waszkiewicz's basic assumption. This assumption, i.e., the socialization of the school, is evident in the title of the interview. Am I opposed to the socialization of schools? Absolutely not. Frankly, it is my ideal for the education of the future. The problem lies in the fact that I understand school socialization differently than J. Waszkiewicz.

In the opinion of J. Waszkiewicz, the effect of local socialization upon the school should be decisive. It is enough merely to establish a "certain" program core, and the remaining contents of the teaching program should correspond to the needs of the community. This "remainder" may even be questions of a religious nature. Thus, Waszkiewicz's concept includes the possibility of negating the principle of school secularism. This is a marginal point; this is a question for us to return to at another time.

The concept of school socialization introduced by J. Waszkiewicz completely bypasses the question of state educational policy, when this policy was created to represent the interests of society. Agreed, educational policy, both past and present, has been subject to severe criticism. Such criticism suggests to me that educational policy must undergo very radical changes. However, I cannot agree with the thesis that because this policy is not perfect, it should be abandoned.

We cannot relieve the state of its duty to guarantee schools suitable material conditions, or its responsibility to create teaching programs which correspond to the contemporary levels of knowledge and of the development of civilization. Will the time come when the state will discharge this duty and fulfill this responsibility with excellence?

I do not believe that it will. The material needs of education will always be greater than the potential to meet them. Nor is it possible to create teaching programs which are thought by all to be contemporary, free of basic shortcomings, not too difficult and, hence, ensuring children a better education than that gained by their parents.

Then why do we need an educational policy? The answer is simple. The state alone is in a position to deal in a just manner with the material needs of all schools and, to the extent that it is possible, to eliminate the differences in conditions in schools. Local self-governing bodies, which have varying potential and varying hierarchies of values, are not able to do this.

In the question of programs, a similar situation exists. Programming the contents of education is a highly specialized activity requiring the involvement of specialists in fields which are widely divergent. At the same time, this programming must have a permanent character. It is naive to think that the local community will fulfill all of the conditions indispensable to the creation of a teaching program. This is simply the acceptance of the assumption that it takes no knowledge whatsoever to make a modern school. Education still amounts to economics and medicine, in which everyone is an expert...

A state educational policy, precisely in the sphere of educational programs, is the only basic determinant of the operational level of the school system. Teachers, students and parents alike must be aware of this level. It is the teaching program which is the objective arbiter for settling the numerous conflicts which arise among these three groups.

School socialization may not consist of the local community's determining the make-up of the school. This is an illusion. School socialization is based on the fact that local communities control and evaluate the operation of schools, using the state educational policy as the point of reference. There must be, of course, some sort of unequivocal criterion: feelings and the pretense of knowledge are not enough.

My vision of school socialization, which appears to be a very modest vision, is unfortunately very difficult to implement. The interest of the local communities or, in effect, of parents in the operation of schools is very superficial. It will be many years before the school becomes a "big deal" for local communities. The brutal truth is that until then parent-teacher meetings are all that is important for most parents.

My vision of school socialization does not lend itself to be ordained by decree. It is the end of a long process which will occur very differently in various communities. The vision of J. Waszkiewicz may be implemented immediately. The proper decisions are made and at once we have the correct educational mosaic. The material conditions of particular schools depend on the potential of local communities, meaning that the disparity between the rural school and the city school is increased. The teaching contents of elementary schools, depending on one's ambition, may boil down to learning reading and writing or it may practically turn it into a university. And so on and so forth.

Is this the question? For me--no. The outcome of J. Waszkiewicz's vision of the self-governing school is obviously the notion of the establishment of schools by various sorts of associations, institutions and even private persons. The history of our educational system owes much to private schools, it is true, but what was good historically may be disastrous today.

Until now, says J. Waszkiewicz, the schools have deserted whole generations of people whose education was injurious in many ways, leaving them crippled. I will ignore the absurdity of this appraisal which leads to the notion that in effect the whole of Polish society is made up of generations of cripples. I would only like to ask what sort of generations will be those generations which come from schools operating under the signboard of various political parties, trade unions religious associations and the like.

Under the signboard--obviously this is a mental capsulization. In the understanding of J. Waszkiewicz, the signboard entails determining the contents of education, which simply means indoctrinating young people in a spirit useful to the given organization. I think that young people should come away from the schools with the honest, documented knowledge that they live in a socialist state in which various political forces exist and in which the theoretical principles of socialism are often divergent from social practice.

Generally speaking, is this not the truth about our contemporary Polish society? Of course it is. And this truth should be present in the life of the school. School knowledge, although insufficient for one's whole life, nonetheless has a universal character. It must be certain, verified knowledge. It is, after all, the capital with which one enters life.

For this reason the current political quarrels, although they cannot but reach the schools, may not determine their operation. The school does not train the participants of today's quarrels, but prepares students to solve problems about which no one today has any conception. The school, while not avoiding the observation of current events and processes, must remain its own oasis of calm. This is really very important.

In opposition to J. Waszkiewicz, I would like my children to learn in a Polish school which, keeping pace with the realities, operates in a socialist country. All other epithets--party, solidarity's, branch or church--are truly unnecessary both for the school and for the children studying in the school.

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CONTROVERSY OVER TEACHERS' CHARTER CONTINUED

Background of Controversy

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Krasniewski: "On the Eve of the Sejm's Session on Education: Disputes About the Teachers' Charter"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

> [Text] /It is in the public interest for the teaching profession to have an advantageous status compared to other categories of workers. Since no one is questioning the old opinion of Stanislaw Staszic [a Polish Enlightenment figure] that the state of the Polish commonwealth and its prospects depend to a sizable degree on the level of education, the teaching profession should attract the most valuable human beings, those who are well-educated and prompted by motives which precondition educational accomplishments./

A properly drafted decree--the Teachers' Charter--could provide encouraging premises for such a status. But the bill voted by the Sejm in 1972 had not filled the need, as evidenced by practice.

The work on the new version of the charter is proceeding along two tracks ever since October last year. This work was initiated by the Ministry of Education and, much earlier, the Polish Teachers' Union [ZNP]. Soon the Teachers' Solidarity joined in this work. /As early as last May an acute impasse had appeared. Mediation even had to be undertaken by the Sejm Commission on Education and Upbringing, because Solidarity activists had questioned the very need of voting on the charter, regarding it as a harmful manifestation of special privileges for an occupational category./ But even before those concerned had the time to react, during about the same period Solidarity began a major campaign in favor of the Dockworkers' Charter and crowned it with success. In such a situation the arguments against the Teachers' Charter lost their force, but time was lost.

Without going into details it should be said that after 16 July, when the draft of the decree had, after numerous consultations, reached the government, the path of the charter continued to be difficult. It was only on 8 October, after a strike alert had been declared by teachers in several voivodships one day before

the extraordinary plenary session of the Governing Board of the ZNP, convened to speed up the progress on this issue, that this important document was transmitted to the Sejm.

Elevating the Rank of the Profession

Of course, the government had its own arguments of a legislative nature, but the facts are in favor of the opinions of ZNP activists. They believe that, in addition to the valid difficulties, there also has been resistance and subjective obstacles by the institutions taking part in the preparatory work. All this has contributed to the tension, so much that there has arisen the threat of the application of the most radical forms of trade union protest.

/Why has the new version of the charter become so important to thousands of educators? Chiefly because this document appears to presage consistent and monitored improvements in the lot of teachers. At the last congress of the ZNP, as well as during its extraordinary plenary session, it was repeatedly stated that the teaching community was fed up with its status of economic pariahs. The documents of the Ninth PZPR Congress also presaged an end to that status./ Thus, if it is expected that the salaries of teachers should be raised to the level of the average wages paid to engineer and technician personnel in industry, and that this should be assured by a legislated machinery for the corresponding mandatory comparison and adjustment of these salaries, teachers want to have this in black and white.

This is to be accompanied by salary raises once every 2 years, a seniority pay allowance, allowances for work under difficult and unsalubrious conditions, decent overtime pay rates and remuneration for various extracurricular work. If, at the same time, the mandatory number of hours worked weekly does not deviate from the European average, and the salaries paid are supplemented with anniversary bonuses, the school bonus fund, and a fully paid 8-week annual vacation, and if moreover teachers receive an extra 15-percent increase in old-age pensions and annuities regardless of any merit increases they may be awarded, /then the teaching profession will ultimately become economically attractive/.

The efforts invested by the state and society in this better status will certainly after some time produce results by halting the current efflux of particularly valuable individuals from the teaching profession and thus at the same time will make possible a marked tightening of requirements for entering this profession. Until now accusations about the poor quality of performance of teachers have often been countered by ripostes about their low material status.

/It may be that the aforementioned premises of the charter will upset quite a few of our readers./ Even now, before any progress has been made in the negotiations about this document, people are talking about the prospects for a rosy life by teachers. The experience of many generations shows that an even more sizable increase in the wages of teachers would halt the efflux of mainly people genuinely interested in children and youth from preschools and schools.

/A teacher's work does not end when the clock strikes 3 or 4 pm. The average work week of a Polish language or literature teacher lasts 50 to 60 hours

depending on the class. Other humanities teachers work just as long, not to mention the teachers of the exact sciences.

/For now the Sejm is in charge of the charter draft, but much still remains to be done./ Various ministries have submitted proposals or reservations concerning the draft of the bill. For example, the Administration Ministry demands that the charter include vocational instructors in industry, although those people are not educators and lack certified teaching skills. That ministry also denied teachers the right to extra living space although it is known that they have to do at home so much homework planning and assignments. The Labor and Wages Ministry believes that pension and annuity provisions should be deleted from the charter and that the provisions of 1972 should remain effective. But teachers would like to have all the rights that they had won contained in a single document, as they fear that the announced general decree for all [occupational categories] could cause them irreparable damage.

Proposals and Reservations

The Sejm has received, along with the draft of the bill, an ensemble of conflicting opinions from the trade unions. /Teachers' Solidarity still questions the term "charter," believing that this should be a bill about the legal status of teachers./

That union also is of the opinion that the document should be of an interim nature until the Sejm votes upon a decree on the national education system. The ZNP suggests that the bill should be adopted with the reservation that later, after suitable adaptation, the charter would become a component part of a general bill on the nation's educational system. The state authorities respond that such proposals not only run counter to the principles of legislative procedure but also represent an attempt to restrict the freedom and independence of the Sejm. It is not possible at present to prejudice the Diet's opinion as to the structure and name as a component part of a decree which will be voted upon several years hence.

/Teachers' Solidarity further proposes that the phraseology in one of the paragraphs, "...upbringing in the spirit of socialist principles," be replaced with the more general "upbringing in the spirit of humanist principles."/ It also suggests deletion of references to discipline of labor and the duty of objective evaluation of students. In the opinion of Solidarity, the bill should contain the statement that recommendations by educational authorities should be implemented only if a teacher considers them as not conflicting with the law and his personal conscience. Another proposal deals with the wording of that part of the preamble which concerns the evaluation of a teacher's performance.

/In the opinion of the state authorities, certain of these proposals are of a restrictive nature. It is self-evident that educational authorities must follow the provisions of the law, while as for the term "conscience," that is too broad and subject to various interpretations. It is difficult to imagine education and upbringing unless the teacher maintains discipline and is objective in evaluating students. The proposal concerning the interpretation of recommendations from the authorities might lead to the questioning of any such recommendation, which would disorganize work at schools./ Not to mention that the deletion of the provision concerning the right to evaluate a teacher's performance would make teachers the

only occupational category to be outside the provisions of t' Labor Law Code, which specifies the duty of evaluating workers. Besides, this right is universal.

Calm Is Needed

I mentioned only a few questions, but the controversy has also broadened to include salaries and forms of employment relationship. The ZNP demands that the bill include a provision specifying the schedule for the issuance of implementing regulations. Some of such regulations ensuing from the preceding bill have not yet been issued.

/But the subject of the sharpest dispute and of mass protests by the ZNP membership is the government's proposal for extending to 4 or 5 years the 3-year deadline for implementing the rights granted in the charter./ The union members claim that this proposal conflicts with the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress which postulates a 3-year period of the implementation of improvements in the material conditions of teachers, as does the resolution of the 32d ZNP Congress.

/Finally, the financial effects should also be mentioned. The implementation of the charter will require spending an additional 31.5 billion zlotys, of which nearly 27 billion would be for salaries. Personnel effects also have been calculated. The demographic peak and reduction in homework load will require employing about 160,000 teachers by 1990./

All these matters are at present extremely difficult to resolve. The consultations initiated 15 October by the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing should be accompanied by calm if this work is to produce the expected results. Much indicates that some compromises will prove necessary.

/One should feel convinced that soon now the Sejm will adopt a decision that will satisfy the teaching community. At the same time, it must be stated with equal conviction that until then teachers arm themselves with patience, without depriving pupils of their care./

Differences Between Government, ZNP

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 25 Oct 81 p 3

[Text of Comments by the ZNP [Polish Teachers Union] Secretariat: "Teachers' Charter: Yes and No"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The teaching community is greatly disturbed by the revisions that have been introduced in the draft of the Teachers' Charter transmitted to the Sejm. What are these revisions? The Secretariat of the ZNP Government Board has performed a detailed analysis of the document to identify the postulates of the ZNP that it takes into account and the divergences between the government's position and the expectations of the teaching community. Below we publish the text of the comments prepared by the ZNP Secretariat.

On 8 October 1981 Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski transmitted to the Sejm the draft of the new Teachers' Charter.

/I. This draft takes into account certain fundamental postulates contained in the ZNP's concept of the updating of the charter, which markedly contributes to improving the socioeconomic status of teachers, in particular:/

1. The introduction of two forms of formalization of the employment relationship, namely, by appointment [tenure] and by employment contract, which includes the specified obligation of the school authorities to tenure a teacher after 3 years of work. The practice of appointment for a definite period, until recall, and of recommendation contracts has been dropped.

2. A marked restriction of the practice of arbitrary transfer of teachers from one post to another (without their consent) in the event of organizational changes.

3. The establishment of a comparable--to that of the occupational group of engineers and technicians employed in industry--salary level (Article 30).

4. The introduction of the principle that teachers receive salary increases once every 2 years throughout 30 years of teaching work (Article 30).

5. Granting teachers the right to:

--seniority pay allowance (Article 32);

--anniversary bonuses (Article 48);

--institutional bonus fund, the so-called "13" [bonus equal to 1 month's pay] (Article 49).

6. More advantageous rules for overtime pay. Among other things, overtime pay levels will be graduated according to rank, and vacation pay will be adjusted in full to average pay (Articles 34 and 67).

7. Further reduction--compared with the state as of 1 September 1981--in the number of weekly hours of teaching and upbringing activities (Article 42).

8. A marked restriction of employers' rights as regards burdening teachers with unpaid teaching and upbringing activities (Article 42).

9. A marked restriction of the possibilities for burdening teachers with overtime work without their consent (Article 34).

10. The provision of possibilities for graduated professional advancement as a form of promotion in rank (Article 46).

11. Obligating the employer to provide teachers in schools with the basic conditions for the accomplishment of pedagogical and upbringing tasks (Article 28).

12. Statutory granting of rights to the teachers' council to codecide on the staffing of managerial positions in schools (Article 16) and as regards the assignment of additional pedagogical-upbringing duties to teachers (Article 42).

13. Assuring the implementation of the right to free housing for all teachers employed in rural areas and in towns with up to 2,000 inhabitants or--in deficit [shortage] areas--up to 5,000 inhabitants (Article 54).

14. Introduction of a permanent pay allowance for teachers working in rural areas and in towns with a population of up to 2,000, or, in deficit [shortage] areas, up to 5,000 inhabitants.

15. Exempting teachers from rent increases for occupancy of additional dwelling space in the form of an additional room (Article 57).

16. Extending vacation leave to 8 weeks, especially for teachers in places without summer vacations (Articles 64 and 66).

17. An unambiguous rule that a teacher who works until the last day of school and then resigns has the right to [paid] vacation leave (Article 65). Previously that right was lacking.

18. The introduction of so-called nonservice status in the event that employment is not available for a teacher relocating to the permanent residence address of his or her spouse (Article 70).

19. Granting to teachers the right to old-age pension after 30 years of work, including 25 years of employment in category 1, (Article 87).

20. Broadening the basis for the determination of old-age pension by including bonuses for professional accomplishments (Article 87) and by granting a 15-percent extra allowance for old-age pension or annuity in lieu of the previous 10 percent (Article 88)--the ZNP is proposing 20 percent.

21. Granting to pensioners and annuitants the right to benefit from the health fund (Article 72).

22. Introduction of the possibility of appealing to organs independent of the educational authorities in the event of disputes ensuing from the employment relationship. Adoption in this respect of the regulations of the Labor Law Code (Article 93).

In addition, provisions of the previous charter which glaringly violated the principles of social justice have been voided. This concerns, e.g.:

--Article 96 which allows the dissolution of employment relationship with a tenured teacher without any disciplinary proceedings and solely upon consent of the minister;

--Article 32 which imposes the duty of substituting for other teachers, as the need arises, to the extent of 2 hours weekly, without extra remuneration.

/11. Independently of the aforementioned positive changes in the draft of the charter, it is necessary to identify the government's positions which diverge from the expectations of the teaching community and do not fully allow for the ZNP's position.

/One major difference between the government's draft of the Teachers' Charter and the ZNP is the schedule for implementing the provisions of the charter, which the government wants to stretch over the period until 1985 whereas the ZNP wants a 3-year period of implementation, i.e., ending in 1983 (the same position has been taken in the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR).

/Moreover:/

1. The provisions of the charter do not apply to teachers employed in posts requiring certified teaching skills at:

--central organs of state administration;

--trade union elements associating teachers.

2. The evaluation of a teacher's performance is given a prominent place in the charter although it ensues from general legal provisions and there was no need to define it in such categorical terms (Article 5).

3. There is no provision that a teacher is legally entitled to tenure if he satisfies specific requirements but has not been evaluated after 3 years (Article 10).

4. The position of the "gmina-town director of schools" has been retained instead of the proposed "inspector of education and upbringing," which entails vacation privileges and a double legal status (Article 16).

5. A provision allowing the discharge of a teacher from a managerial function in school following a 3-month notice has been introduced, but this should be allowed only in especially justified instances (Article 16).

6. The provision allowing the transfer or relocation of a teacher from one post to another without his or her consent has been retained (Article 17).

7. The adopted principle is that the average salary of a teacher /should not be/ lower than that of an engineer or technician in industry, instead of /may not be lower/ (Article 30).

8. The provision for annual adjustment of teachers' salaries in view of the rising cost of living has been deleted.

9. The definition of overtime hours includes the term "worked" instead of "assigned," which greatly affects the interpretation of payment for overtime hours (Article 34).

10. The remuneration for overtime hours during periods of justified absence has been limited to 1 week (Article 34).

11. The newly introduced provision that during a vacation leave the salary paid should be the average of the preceding 3 months instead of 10 months, except in cases where the salary fluctuates markedly so that an average of 12 preceding months has to be calculated (Article 67).

12. The table of working posts and of the weekly number of hours of teaching activities:

--differentiates between the number of hours for teachers in school libraries and in libraries of teaching materials;

--retains the differentiation in numbers of hours for school teachers and teachers employed in educational-professional counseling clinics;

--has not reduced the number of hours for Polish-language teachers, training-school teachers, special-school teachers, and others.

13. The provision of the previous charter awarding the Gold Cross of Merit to teachers for 20 years of /"irreproachable"/ teaching activity has been retained (Article 52).

14. There is introduced the provision that, following 30 years of distinguished professional activity the organ representing a teacher /submits/ a proposal for awarding the Order of Polonia Restituta [Rebirth of Poland] instead of that "the Order of Polonia Restituta is /awarded/" (Article 52).

15. The provision concerning the social and housing fund for teachers, pensioners and annuitants, and the crediting of such funds to pensioners and annuitants as well, has been completely deleted (Section 7).

16. The right to free housing and rural extra-pay allowance has not been extended to all teachers working in towns with a population of up to 5,000, and instead it has been restricted in such cases only to teachers working in areas defined as deficit [shortage] (Article 54).

17. The right to free housing has not been extended to pensioners or annuitants who started to receive their pension or annuity prior to 1972 (Section 7).

18. The right to a household allowance has not been granted to all teachers who undertake work directly after completing their studies (Article 61).

19. No allowance has been made for discounts for travel via PKS [State Motor Transport], with only discounts for travel via PKP [Polish State Railroads] being granted (Article 62).

20. The principle that a school director may obligate a teacher to perform activities relating to the conduct of tests and work connected with the commencement or ending of a school year for as many as 15 days during the school vacation period has been retained. (Article 64).

21. A provision obligating the concerned ministries to determine the actual list of occupational diseases has been omitted (Article 72).

22. The provision that Teacher's Day is a day of leisure has been deleted (Article 74).

23. The provision concerning the possibility of special investigations in disciplinary proceedings against teachers has been omitted (Section 10).

24. There is no provision that payments in kind are subject to inclusion in pension and annuity payments (inclusion in Article 87).

25. There is no provision that the extra allowance for teaching work is also payable in addition to disability pensions granted in cases of work accidents and occupational diseases (Article 88).

26. No allowance has been made for a provision awarding pensioned teachers an extra 25 percent allowance for clandestine teaching (Section 11).

27. There are no provisions specifying a regular updating of the level of pensions and annuities (Section 11).

28. A provision concerning the cooperation between the organizational units of educational administration and the trade unions of teachers has been omitted.

29. A provision placing the proper organs of state administration under the obligation of issuing implementing regulations with respect to the charter within a closely defined schedule has been struck out (Section 12).

/The information presented above does not include comments relating to purely editorial matters.

/The comments presented above are arranged by ordinal number of the articles contained in the draft of the charter./

Explanation of Sejm Commission Chairman

Warsaw GŁOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 25 Oct 81 pp 1,2,3

[Article by Prof Dr Habilitatus Jarema Maciszewski, chairman of the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing: "For the Common Good"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] On 15 October this year, there was a session of the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing, chaired by Prof Dr Habilitatus Jarema Maciszewski.

The most important item on the agenda was exchange of opinions among the deputies concerning further work on the updated Teachers' Charter transmitted by the government to the office of the Sejm Marshal [speaker].

In view of the fact that the further fate of the charter is of focal concern to all teachers, we turned to the chairman of the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing for an explanation of the detailed course of further work by the Sejm on the draft of the new Teachers' Charter.

In recent years the Sejm has received hundreds of telegrams, letters, and resolutions from teachers' councils, elements of the Polish Teachers Union [ZNP], groups of teachers, and also--although in a small number--teacher commissions of the Independent Self-governing Trade Unions (NSZZ) Solidarity. A common tenor of most of these missives has been the protest against what their authors consider the slow progress of the work on the new Teachers' Charter, and against the changes which the government has introduced into the draft of that charter, as well as the unanimously expressed support for the resolutions of the National ZNP Congress and the extraordinary plenary session of the Governing Board of NZP-Education. Nearly all the mail has been addressed either to the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing or to me personally.

I am unable to reply promptly to every letter and telegram and hence I avail myself of the kindness of the editors of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI to reply on its pages as soon as possible to all colleagues.

We all place great hopes in the new legal settlement of the teacher's status. Our hopes pertain to both the living and social conditions of the teacher community and the working conditions of the school and the teacher, which have always been very difficult and complicated and which at present during the period of the all-encompassing economic and sociopolitical crisis, endanger the normal functioning of schools, preschools, and educational-upbringing outposts. The new regulation of the legal status of the teacher is associated with the need--ripening over a number of years--to acknowledge not so much in word as in deed the high rank of our profession, its role and place in the nation's life.

Acting on this conviction, the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing has been exerting every effort to speed up the work on the draft of this bill and acting as a mediator in the difficult process of smoothing out the differences among the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, the ZNP, and NSZZ Solidarity. These differences in opinion, which emerged during joint discussions of individual articles of the charter, as well as of the nature of this bill as a whole, have been a major reason why the transmittal of the charter to the Council of Ministers has been delayed.

More detailed information on this topic has already been published in GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, so I will not repeat it. The present situation is as follows:

/On 8 October this year, the government draft of the "Teachers' Charter" has been transmitted to the office of the Sejm Marshal. Its general tenor as well as its specific provisions are quite favorable to teachers and are generally in agreement with the opinions and postulates of teachers as well as the content of the social agreements concluded last year with the trade unions dealing with education and upbringing. As for those provisions in the draft of the charter which arouse or may arouse dissatisfaction, doubts, or a feeling that valid claims by teachers have not been accorded sufficient justice, these may be revised and corrected in the course of the legislative work of the Sejm. I cannot, of course, predict the final decisions of the Commission for Education and Upbringing and of the Sejm as a whole. I can only express here my deep conviction that that final version of the "Teachers Charter" will fully meet your expectations./

Soon there will take place a plenary session of the Sejm devoted to the state and developmental trends of Polish education, in accordance with the long-advanced postulates of the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing and the ZNP congress. At that session--in accordance with legislative procedure--the first reading of the draft of the "Teachers' Charter' will take place. Next, the draft of that bill will be transmitted to the Commission for Education and Upbringing and the Commission for Legislative Work, which, on utilizing the results of public consultations, plenary discussions of the Sejm, and the personal concepts and opinions of the deputies, will prepare the final version of the draft of the bill, on introducing corrections, additions, and revisions. As approved by the commission, the draft of the bill will be presented for final approval to the Sejm. It is my hope that, despite the huge volume of work facing us, the bill will be voted upon as early as this coming November. The date on which it will become effective will be determined by the Sejm.

To maximally shorten the time of the work on the draft of the bill, the Commission for Education and Upbringing has decided, even before its first reading, to commence consultations with the teaching community. This week the commission presidium will meet with representatives of the leadership of ZNP-Education and the National Section for Education and Upbringing, NSZZ Solidarity. Representatives of both unions from the teaching community will be regularly invited to the commission's sessions, as is the custom introduced earlier. In this way, the final shape of the bill will be the result of joint work.

The version of draft of the bill transmitted to the government by the minister of education and upbringing was not entirely agreed upon between the ministry and both trade unions. To be sure, much had been jointly resolved, including some of the most important paragraphs. Certain problems, however, still await further discussion and resolution. The memorandum of differences transmitted to the government along with the draft of the bill by the minister of education and upbringing is fairly long. It is also worth noting that the differences with regard to several questions (if only, for examples the issue of what the bill should be named) between the ZNP and NSZZ Solidarity are quite considerable. /It is one of the commission's roles to reconcile positions, to try for a common consensus in proposing a solution and, in particularly difficult cases, to propose compromise solutions. I mention this in order to show that the task of the Commission for Education and Upbringing is not easy./

In the very near future deputies will begin to meet with their voters-teachers. /My ardent request to my colleagues [fellow teachers] is that they share with the deputies their comments, suggestions, and proposals and meet with them in an objective and constructive atmosphere. All suggestions and opinions will be considered, thoroughly examined, and weighed in the work on the final shape of the text of the bill. As a Sejm commission we have the complete right to present to the Sejm that version of the draft of the bill which we shall jointly regard as the most just and most adequate to the needs of Polish education and the feelings, opinions, and position of the teacher community./ In our work on the charter we will be able to settle many matters and details, including, e.g., the problem of "teacher-librarians" (rather than "school librarians" as formulated in the corresponding provision in the government's draft of the charter),

on bearing in mind that this bill will also open the road toward further regulations intended to prepare a new decree on the national education system.

/I will continue to keep my colleagues [fellow teachers] posted about all work relating to the charter in the pages of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI./

Sejm Speech of Minister Faron

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Nov 81 pp 3,4

[PAP report on speech by Minister B. Faron: "Updated Draft of the 'Teachers' Charter'"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /Justifying the draft of the bill known as "Teachers' Charter," B. Faron stated that it settles the basic aspects of the status of teachers, on voiding those provisions in the 1972 decree, "Charter of the Teacher's Rights and Duties," which no longer find application and at present do not meet the expectations of teachers./

The changes occurring in the nation's economic, social, and political life since August of last year have affected schools as well. Recently many decisions have been made to alter the work of schools, to deepen it and make it more authentic, both for teachers and students. Revisions have been made in the curriculums, especially with regard to the humanities and social sciences, and decisions regulating the inner life of the school, its administration, and the work of teachers have been taken. Lastly, as of the new school year, the material situation of teachers has improved to some extent. Despite economic difficulties, the government has decided to raise salaries and shorten the weekly number of teaching hours. As Minister Faron stated, these decisions represent a preliminary adjustment of the disproportions that had existed in teachers' salaries compared to other professional groups with analogous educational background. They are the first stage in the implementation of a program for improving the material situation of educators and revising the obligations contained in social contracts whose integral reflection can be found in the "Teachers' Charter" being presented today to the High Chamber.

That charter is an important element in the government's actions to improve the situation in Polish education and enhance the status of the teaching profession. The draft of the charter presented today does not yet meet all the expectations of educators. It is being widely discussed within the teacher community, and dissatisfaction has been expressed concerning some of the solutions it contains. There also exist many misunderstandings and lack of clarity concerning that draft as regards, among other things, the schedule for the implementation of the charter.

The working team for the preliminary drafting of the charter bill was appointed in the fall of last year. The project for updating the charter was submitted to the social commission last February, and early in May a revised version of the draft was published in GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in order to familiarize the broad teaching community with its text. At the same time, the draft was distributed for consultation among the ministries and political parties, among others, the

PZPR Central Committee, the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party [ZSL], and the Central Committee of the Democratic Party [SD]. The Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing was kept posted about the work on the draft. In view of the difference in opinions about the status of teachers--a topic which the Polish Teachers Union [ZNP] has always believed worthy of inclusion in the charter, whereas the Teachers' Branch of Solidarity proposed settling this issue in a more general way, as part of a collective-bargaining agreement, the Sejm commission undertook the role of a mediator between these two unions. Early in July, this led to a rapprochement of positions, but it has also caused delays in transmitting the draft of the bill to the government. The transmittal finally took place on 16 July.

The full implementation of the charter will require additional outlays of about 34 billion zlotys on education. In accordance with the proposal by the trade unions and the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress, the Ministry of Education and Upbringing proposed implementing the charter within the period of up to 1983. In view of the country's difficult economic situation, the government, while accepting the idea of outlays on this scale, postponed spending about 9.9 billion zlotys until 1984 and about 2 billion zlotys until 1985. This was the version of the draft of the bill that was approved by the government presidium, and the premier transmitted that draft to the Sejm on 7 October. In accordance with yesterday's declaration by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, the government has recently decided to shorten by 1 year the proposed period of financing the "Teachers' Charter," by moving forward about 6 billion zlotys to as early as the year 1982. This means that a sizable part of the rights contained in the charter will be translated into reality as of 1982. The presented schedule of work on the charter indicates that the government spent relatively very little time on drafting the text of the bill, without either being tardy or, the more so, underestimating the problems of teachers.

In the course of legislative work, the government has also introduced certain revisions in some provisions of the proposed bill that had been negotiated at the ministerial level. This concerns not only the aforementioned shortening of the period of implementation of the charter but also an increase in the extra pension allowance and, among other things, the awarding of the Order of Polonia Restituta to teachers who completed 30 years of pedagogical work and the extension of special free-housing privileges to all teachers employed in cities with a population of up to 5,000.

As regards the extra allowance for pensioners and annuitants who had engaged in clandestine teaching, the government proposes that this question be resolved in the "War Veteran's Charter," because then persons who have abandoned the teaching profession could also be eligible for this allowance. As regards the automatic awarding of the Order of Polonia Restituta, the government adopts the premise that such a procedure for awarding decorations of such high rank would not be socially justified even for persons engaged in such an important profession. Hence the government proposes a mandatory submission of proposals regarding this decoration to teachers, instead of its automatic awarding.

Considerable anxiety has been caused to teachers by the revision of the provision governing average salaries. The draft presented by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing states that "it may not be lower than the average wage of

engineers and technicians employed in industry," whereas the government's draft states that this salary "should not be lower."

The minister cited only certain instances of the disparities between the draft presented by the government and the document received by the Sejm, and he offered a justification for the government's revisions. Altogether there are 13 major disparities and for all of them the government justifies the necessity of revisions by either the possibility of settling the concerned issues in a more general way, through separate regulations, or in view of the deviations of the proposed provisions from the legal norms in force.

Irrespective of these disputed issues, the government has decided to present to the High Chamber the draft of the "Teachers' Charter" in full consciousness that this document can be improved and finalized precisely in the forum of the Sejm and in the Sejm commissions. The government's draft of the bill contains many favorable solutions for those employed in this unusually difficult and responsible profession. The charter postulates, among other things, another stage of shortening the weekly work week to 18 hours for teachers in elementary and secondary schools. In addition, it restricts, among other things, the possibility of burdening teachers with unpaid teaching and upbringing activities as well as with overtime hours without their consent. The average wage of engineers and technicians is regarded as a fixed criterion for determining the salary level of teachers. Along with this, the draft of the bill grants seniority pay allowances to teachers, e.g. 10 percent after 10 years, 15 percent after 15 years, and 20 percent after 20 years, as well as anniversary bonuses for 20, 25 and 30 years of work. The periods of waiting for promotion are moreover shortened from 4 to 2 years and the number of promotions is increased from 6 to 15. These provisions meet the demands advanced by teachers throughout the period of existence of the People's Poland, while the determination of the salary level according to that paid to engineers and technicians prevents once and for all a decrease in teachers' salaries in relation to other professional categories with the same educational background. In addition, the draft of the bill markedly broadens the rights of teachers to social security and pensions and offers definite priorities for teachers who work in rural and so-called deficit [shortage] areas. Further, the provisions contained in the draft are closer to the universal labor law code. This concerns in particular employee hiring and discharge procedures and pay allowances for vacation leaves, disciplinary penalties, etc.

The draft of the bill imposes on the employer the duty of assuring teachers with basic working conditions for the implementation of teaching-upbringing activities, and it obligates the minister of education and upbringing to define these conditions. It also abolishes traditional bureaucratic restrictions on the teacher's work and is intended to enhance his role in implementing the tasks of the school. It moreover eliminates provisions which have glaringly violated the principles of justice by permitting the discharge of tenured teachers without their consent and without disciplinary proceedings. Further, the draft grants to teachers' councils certain rights relating to [codetermination of] the appointment of directors of schools and educational institutions.

The government's draft of the bill takes into account the universal, deep and justified criticism by teachers with regard to their current legal status and

material and social position. It translates into reality most of the teachers' demands recorded in the public agreements between the ministry and government, on the one hand, and the teachers' trade unions, on the other.

The "Teachers' Charter" not only defines the rights of teachers, it also defines in detail their obligations, including the education of young people in the spirit of love for the fatherland, socialist principles of social coexistence, social justice, legality, and fraternity of working people throughout the world. The charter also mentions the duty of promoting the ideals of peace, caring for the broad development of personality in pupils, and fostering attitudes of active participation in the life of the country and the nation.

The charter also defines the required qualifications of teachers, specifying that persons with higher education that includes adequate teacher training and who display the proper moral attitude may be teachers. The duties enumerated in that document also include the necessity of consistent self-enhancement of knowledge and professional skills by the teacher.

Minister Boleslaw Faron stressed that, in his broad presentation of the progress of the work so far on the draft of the "Teachers' Charter" and of the principal provisions it contains, he has not concealed the disparities that have emerged between the version agreed upon between the ministry and the trade unions, on the one hand, and the final government version, on the other. Here he guided himself by the fact that the passions and discussions aroused by this draft are sometimes based on misconceptions, on an incomplete familiarity with the text. Hence he is convinced that the Sejm will, on making allowance for the proposals made during the discussions and for the position of the Sejm commissions for Legislative Work and for Education and Upbringing, vote a bill meeting the expectations of teachers.

1386
CSO: 2600/109

ORTHODOX PRIESTS CRITICIZE CHURCH HIERARCHY

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Dec 1981 p 10

[Unsigned article: "Romanian Orthodox Priests Criticize the Ecclesiastic Hierarchy"]

[Text] According to documents published underground in Romania, five Romanian orthodox priests, members of the "Romanian Christian Committee," were victims of diverse types of harassment and persecution as a result of their writings in "Testimony of Faith," addressed to the patriarch of Romania. In this "Testimony," the authors criticize the attitude of the ecclesiastic officials, considering it "a prostituion of the Church." They say that the Church should not be involved in politics. If on a domestic level the Church has shown itself to be authoritarian, as it is on a foreign level, in Romania it is totally subservient to the atheist authorities. Religious affairs are compromised by a ritual lacking grace and by an orientation towards sterility, materialism and hypocrisy. The five priests, Liviu Negoita, Viorel Dumitrescu, Ambrus Cernat, Cornel Avramescu and Ionel Vinchici, stated that this situation must be changed and demanded: the implementation of the right to give children a religious education and the organization of a young Christian movement; individual ecumenical freedom without any constraints; the right to organize pilgrimages; the right to have access to the information media, radio and television; the release of Father Calciu from prison; the reintroduction of the "Lord's Army" movement; and the recognition of the Unified Church as the sister and supporter of Orthodox spiritual life.

The Patriarch did not directly respond to the "Testimony of Faith." Bishop N. Corneau met twice, however, with Father Negoita, urging him to renounce the ecumenical ideas in the document. Not only did he not renounce them, but in August Father Negoita wrote a letter to the publishing house that produces the journal MITROPOLITUL BANATULUI protesting an article that appeared there stating that the "priests' yoke" involves "spiritual restrictions" and implicitly criticizing the position of the reformist priests in the "Romanian Christian Committee." They were warned that they are using "ideas foreign to the Church" and "actions that have not connection with the Church!". Father Negoita objected that the Church cannot be reduced to a state of immutability.

After a long visit to Bishop Ploscaru on 30 June 1981, Fathers L. Negoita and Viorel Dumitrescu were stopped on the street and "invited" to the militia office, threatened and beaten. Later, Bishop Corneau reproached Father Negoita for having too long a conversation with Bishop Ploscaru...

Father Cernat was arrested in May, interrogated for 6 hours and threatened with physical torture (the investigator ironically told him "that the spikes will come out by themselves and he will fly over the machine). Before being released, he signed a "confession" and he was told that he must give up his work and that he would no loner receive a salary. Father Cernat replied that he would work without a salary. At the end of July, he was visited by Bishop Nicolae who informed him that he must go, that if he did not he would close the church and kick him out into "the street." Father Cernat is currently under strict supervision, is not permitted to carry out his profession as a priest and is used only in auxiliary, support work.

Father Vinchici was also dismissed and no longer has a job.

8724
CSO: 2700

EMIGRE SOURCE EXAMINES MEASURES FOR REDUCING WORK TIME

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Dec 81 p 7

[Unsigned article: "Reducing the Length of the Workweek"]

[Text] The workers' strikes of July and August 1977 and the very powerful repression (arrests, tortures, worker transfers) brought about a decrease in labor productivity. The investigative organs of the apparatus (we understand this to mean the Party and the Government) arrived at the conclusion (copied from Western studies) that there was an incipient deterioration of the national workforce that would express itself in more and more violent outbreaks.

As a good student of Stalinist education (the only one who benefitted), Ceausescu proposed in September 1977 the reduction of the length of the workweek as a safety valve. This was followed by the December 1977 National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and the 12th RCP Congress which approved a program for the graduated reduction of the length of the workweek from 48 hours to 46 hours and the granting of 1 additional day off per month.

Clearly, this reduction was based not on an equal level of productivity, but on an increased one. Thus, for the normal fulfillment of tasks the ministries, the central and local organs, the industrial centrals and the economic units, with the participation of the so-called trade unions headed by the RCP organs, took over 28,000 measures that were to create a savings of 486 million man-hours per year, correlated with an increase in productivity of 4.2 percent in 1981, and "a better use of work time." Very detailed plans were made by sectors of production and the date 31 December 1981 was set as the end of the operation.

Additionally, the operation was also contingent upon countless local factors. Thus, according to the vicious criteria established by the party, the day off (the first Saturday of the month and not a full day) would be granted to enterprises on the basis of monthly achievements or achievements accumulated since the beginning of the year and the following plan indicators: the value of sold and paid-for goods production; physical industrial production by items; labor productivity based on net production; product quality; exports, including deliveries for export as established through cooperation with sub-contracting units; maximum expenditures per 1,000 lei of goods production.

The first five indicators could be expressed in an accounting format. The last, which appears to be the most simple, still does not have an arithmetic formula.

It should be noted that in those enterprises that require continuous operations the day off could be postponed or accumulated during a period of restricted operations, while in the administrative and service sectors the days off could be postponed for months.

By August 1981, in other words 32 months into the 36 month program, the apparatus of the Socialist Republic of Romania stated that 75 percent of the total number of workers were benefitting from a 46-hour workweek, with the day off not being given only in rare cases.

At the 14 July 1981 working session of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee that preceded Ceausescu's visit to the Crimea to see Brezhnev, it was decided that "in order to reduce the workweek it is necessary to achieve the same amount of production in a shorter period of time." After two and one-half years since the beginning of the operation, neither the apparatus nor the rest of the country had understood that they were talking about a reduction in work time.

To the instructions that had come down from the top, the work units had answered, as they had understood, with the inherent delays in a troublesome program by reorganizing production and labor, by requesting machinery and equipment to automate the work processes (at a time when Romania's foreign credit is considerably reduced) and by raising the level of professional qualifications of the different categories of personnel. All these phases cannot be quickly resolved.

Thus, the program for reducing the length of the workweek as promised 3 years ago is a new failure. This measure is not limited, however, to the failure to make good on the promises to the workers. "Scientific" organization immediately requires the intensive use of machinery and equipment. Those personnel having a lower level of qualifications became "unproductive" and, together with "auxiliary" personnel, they were put on leave as "unfit for certain production activities."

Thus, a group of unemployed workers was created that goes from city to city looking for work. A large part of these workers are pushed to committing delinquent acts and the statistical analysis of the Romanian press in recent months reveals a spectacular increase in all kinds of robberies and criminal acts committed by these uprooted people. An important part of the black market business, which the Romanian apparatus blames for contributing to the endemic poor supply situation among the people, is in the hands of these people.

When countries that are no less richer and have no more advantageous positions in international situations on the European continent begin programs to reduce the workweek from 40 hours to 38 or even 35 hours and when working more than 42 hours is considered illegal and trade unions state that it is even damaging to the health of the workers, the undermining of the failing regime in Romania becomes a national duty.

The living conditions of the Romanian workers, which are much poorer than those of the Polish workers, must be denounced by all the elements of exiled Romanians.

8724
CSO: 2700

ULTRALEFTIST VIEWS OF LCY ROLE REJECTED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 81 p 20

[Article by Petar Mandic: "The League of Communists and Democratic Centralism; Element Instead of Organized Action"; Passages within slant lines in bold face]

[Text] The conception is popular that the ideological function of the LCY will become stronger to the extent in which the process of liberalization of its internal life has taken effect, that is, if it has reduced its occupation with the questions of its organizational and political construction in the spirit of democratic centralism.

This conception proceeds from the fact that democratic centralism is incompatible with the new role of the LCY in a self-managed society and that "according to the character of the relations which it assumes, it is incompatible with self-managed democracy." Challenging the role of the LCY and negating democratic centralism, the anarchist-liberals develop the thesis that /democracy/ and /centralism/ in the LCY come into irreconcilable opposition which can only be resolved by excluding /centralism/. They are particularly insistent that "democratic centralism is the source of the latent conflict of principle and the creative personality," that this is the principle with the help of which "membership is manipulated for the sake of leadership," that it is the "source of making relations in the LCY and in society bureaucratic," that it "separates people and their ideas," etc. Making the LCY democratic should be expressed in such a way that the character of its internal relations would enable minorities, even if they have antisocialistic ideological positions, to work freely and to struggle for their positions. In such a vision of democracy, "freedom" is conceived of as a category outside of class, as the right to work in the movement and against its interests, as "freedom for everyone," even for the class enemy, as the right without the responsibility for the consequences which come into being for the movement because of such activity.

The "Incompatibility" of Order and the Movement

The character of the anarchist-liberal concept of democracy and of the role of the LCY is best revealed by its "radicalized wing" which is known as the "new left" or the "ultraleft." Although it tries to present itself as the protagonist for new beginnings in the development of socialism, the ultraleft reveals its ideological orientation by the measures it proposes in order to "radicalize" and "to make democratic" social relations, and to get out of the existing "vicious circle."

Both the advocates of this ideological movement and the classical anarchistic [illegible] direct their basic activity against the LCY and its organized work on the principle of democratic centralism, as well as against the institution of the political system of socialistic self-management. It is worth saying that here there is nothing about criticism of the existing, but about negation of everything existing, about the demand for the destruction of the institution of the self-managed society in the name of some abstract interests of the working class. The basic ideological inspiration of this false leftwing "radicalism" is anarchism, with its motto in the thesis "that order and the movement are absolutely incompatible" and that they are "two diametrically opposed political phenomena."

The nihilistic concern of the ultraleftwinger emerges in the explicit assertions that "in today's world, socialistic self-management is the only utopia," that it is incompatible with today's reality, and as such it must be discarded as a real alternative. Insisting on spontaneity as a method of struggle for socialism, and struggling against democratic centralism as an organizational principle of the LCY, the ultraleftwing favors the point of view according to which "the spontaneity of class and the activity of the party organization are mutually excluded or sharply opposed to each other."

The LCY should operate exclusively on the basis of empirical consciousness, spontaneously, independent and ouside of party leadership. The ultraleft particularly insists on the viewpoint that behind the concepts of democratic centralism is concealed the "the most glaring form of bureaucratic centralization and the dictatorship of the party apparatus."

The ultraleftist destructive tendencies in relation to the LCY and its spiritual identity with the philosophy of Dilas emerge from the position of its advocates toward the manner of organization of the LCY. They find proof of the bureaucratic structuring of the LCY in the fact that the membership is not organized arbitrarily, "according to the way it is found," but in accordance with the "organizational scheme which is issued by the leadership," alluding to the Statutes of the LCY. The ultraleftwingers, as well as all opportunistic petit-bourgeois intellectuals, as Lenin warned, are bothered by discipline and organization, as well as the understanding which democratic centralism presupposes.

The aversion the ultraleft feels for the LCY is well expressed in the position that it has survived organization because of its Leninist nature. And since everyone from Dilas to his "radical" followers are united in the position that Leninism is the forerunner of Stalinism, they reach the conclusion that the LCY is "incompatible with self-management." In their opinion, the League of Communists, as long as it exists as an organization which constructs its relations on the principle of democratic centralism, will be the impetus for making relations in society bureaucratic, and because of this it must be abolished or given an auxilliary role.

The search for an "alternative to the existing" does not only mean a plea that an alternative to self-management be found, but also to the leadership role of the working class and of the LCY which, it is asserted, have not been acknowledged as revolutionary subjects because they themselves have been "make bureaucratic," especially the LCY, which has been transformed into the "sclerotic party of the movement." In order for the new "avantguarde" to be able to implement its role, the ultraleft aggressively comes out with the demand that it be given free space for operating outside the institution of the political system.

Lack of Faith in the Working Class

One should not, however, live under the illusion that the anarchist-liberals and the ultraleftwingers are genuine supporters of spontaneous and unlimited democracy for all. There is nothing about this. In question is the ideological vision which has as its goal--under the guise of the struggle for democracy--the breaking up of the institution of the political system of socialistic self-management, which is proclaimed as undemocratic, so that a state of division and anarchy emerges, in which then would appear on the scene those forces which would, having seized control, create its own system which might be even a form of restoration of the dogmatic Stalinistic variation of socialism, or a multiparty system with limited civil freedoms, or everything else but a true system of socialistic self-managed democracy.

In every case, the road from anarchy has never led to democracy, nor is this the goal of the anarchist-liberals. In reality, we are dealing with false radicalism. To be radical in the Marxist sense of the word means to begin with man and his specific life situation. The struggle for the resolution of the concrete problems for the economic and political emancipation of society is not possible without concrete critical analysis of social reality and the solving of the problems which inhibit the process of the liberation of labor and the working class. But the ultraleft does not make use of this method of analysis, instead negating all of the existing structure, and so in the name of false humanism it is transformed into a destructive force of society and into the most extreme protagonist of the struggle against the socialistic self-management values of society.

Marxist-based criticism is not and cannot be only a judge of the existing reality, but also must be a vision of a new, approaching one, as well as a response to the challenges of the contemporary struggle for socialism. Its revolutionary dimension consists in this. Instead of a Marxist analysis of social reality, the ultraleft makes use of an impressionistic philosophy, creating a utipian plan for society and the "liberation of man." Thus the notion of the hopelessness of society and the uncertainty of perspective of our self-management development is created. By its lack of faith in the working class as a historic subject, and by its search for a new historic alternative to the existing forces of society, that is, the working class and the LCY, the ultraleft in the best way possible reveals its petit-bourgeois ideological orientation and character. The implementation of its goals is possible only under the assumption that the LCY is indeed to be removed from the political scene. Only in this way is it possible to understand the revulsion of the anarchist-liberals and the ultraleftwing for the social role of the LCY. That is why they support the destruction of the pillars of its ideological and organizational construction, which are expressed in democratic centralism. Without these pillars, there would indeed be no LCY.

Although the LCY finds itself in an irreconcilable conflict with these ideological tendencies, they sometimes succeed in influencing the content and method of its work and the construction of its internal relations. These influences appear in the formalism of the work of some organizations and agencies, that is, in conceptions that it is enough on principle to discuss phenomena and the task of the LCY is finished. According to this reasoning, the implementation of these assignments is a matter for other organizations and agencies. It is not uncommon for social problems to be approached without entering into all sides of their political, social and economic essence, the establishment of their causes is overlooked and the responsibility for them is avoided.

Making relations in the LCY democratic is still perceived here and there as the right of individuals and organizations, under the guise of freedom of expression for a pluralism of self-management interests, to legalize rights of some economic and social subjects to insist without limitation on biased, local and individual group interests, independent of how much they agree with the broad interests of the society and associated labor. On this basis appear tendencies that a significant number of basic organizations of the LCY often identify with the interests of their own basic organizations of associated labor, independent of what is the class essence of these interests, that is, whether these interests are the expression of the broad interests of society and associated labor or are the expression of localism, particularism and regionalism.

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ASSEMBLY OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON DELEGATES' PAY, DUTIES

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[Interview with Janez Lukas, secretary general of the SFRY Assembly, by Svetislav Spasojevic: "Under the Assembly Dome"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Hardly a day passes that some Yugoslav newspaper does not publish at least one news item coming from the Yugoslav Assembly. This institution is probably the largest source of news in the country. It is another matter that almost nothing is known about the delegates who spend long and strenuous hours in the Assembly and about the people who are employed in it.

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly held 84 meetings with a total of 924 agenda items from 15 May 1978 to the end of this October! In that time each delegate of the Federal Chamber received 3,942 pieces of documentary material with a total of 42,941 pages. His counterpart in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces received 5,958 pieces of material printed on 50,165 pages. This is a job which, as one often hears in the Assembly, cannot always be done as it should be. Which raises the question of who are the people who have managed to study so many pieces of material in such a relatively short time and make decisions on the basis of that material which have very often been decisive for the country.

A picture of the Assembly from within must among other things contain data on the composition of the delegates with respect to age. There are 5 delegates between the ages of 20 and 30, 40 between the ages of 30 and 40, 74 delegates between 40 and 50, 131 delegates between 50 and 60, and 55 delegates between 60 and 70.

The figures eloquently indicate that the delegates are of a certain age and experience. There are more of them between the ages of 60 and 70 than those between 20 and 40, the youngest age group.

Occupations

The total of 308 delegates are divided as follows: 220 in the Federal Chamber and 88 in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. There are 44 women delegates in the Federal Chamber and 10 in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. In the Federal Chamber 135 delegates have senior postsecondary schooling; in the Chamber

of Republics and Provinces there are 36. There are 53 delegates in the Federal Chamber and 13 delegates in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces with junior postsecondary schooling. There are 29 delegates in the Federal Chamber and 8 delegates in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces with secondary specialized training. In each chamber there are two delegates with elementary schooling.

In the Federal Chamber there are 63 sociopolitical workers and 67 in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces; in the Federal Chamber 21 economists and in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 6; in the Federal Chamber 12 lawyers and in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 2; in the Federal Chamber 40 engineers and in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 2; in the Federal Chamber 12 members of the armed forces and in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 1; in the Federal Chamber 6 physicians, 2 veterinarians and 7 educationists, but in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 1 educationist; in the Federal Chamber 1 writer and 1 newsman; 5 enterprise directors in the Federal Chamber and 6 in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces; 14 highly skilled workers in the Federal Chamber and 1 in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. Also, there are in the Federal Chamber 11 technicians, 13 skilled workers, 1 actor, 2 farmers and 2 nurses.

Of the 320 delegates in the two chambers, 130 are sociopolitical workers. The others are employed and often say that their position is not equitable, since aside from their regular job, they also perform the extremely important duty of being a delegate.

Personal Incomes

The compensation for personal income paid to the delegate in the Yugoslav Assembly is regulated by a specific law and a social compact. A delegate who does not hold one of several elective offices is entitled to the same personal income he had over the last 12 or 6 months in the work organization in which he was employed. The rule for a delegate who does hold one of the elective offices is this: "... The personal income is arrived at by taking as the base the average personal income of employees in the SFRY economy, which is increased by a specified adjustment." For the chairmen of the Assembly's working bodies, for example, the adjustment factor applied is 3.8. Past labor is added to the amount obtained in this way. The compensation for personal income paid, say, to the chairman of a working body or one of the committees is 23,350 dinars without past labor and 28,645 dinars if he has 30 years of pensionable service.

The delegate also receives what is referred to as a supplement, which amounts to 2,000 dinars per month. In practice there are cases where the delegate receives a smaller personal income than what he had in his former job. The administrative commission of the SFRY Assembly is authorized on the recommendation of the administrative commissions of the republics and provinces to make occasional adjustments in the personal income of a delegate in order to compensate for that difference.

Here are the personal incomes of the officeholders elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly, with and without past labor:

The president of the Assembly receives 32,021 dinars without past labor and 37,625 dinars with it; the vice presidents of the Assembly 28,018 dinars and 32,921 dinars, respectively; the presidents of the chambers 28,018 (32,921); chairmen of committees of the chambers and joint committees 25,350 (29,786); delegates in the Federal Chamber from 17,463 to 30,560, including past labor; delegates in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces from 19,720 to 33,306 dinars, including past labor; officeholders whose term of office has expired from 25,867 to 29,819 dinars, including past labor; the secretary general of the SFRY Assembly 24,683 dinars without past labor and 29,003 dinars with it; the deputy secretary general, the chamber secretary and the secretary for legislation from 25,566 to 27,434 dinars; staff administrators appointed by the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly and councilors of the Yugoslav Assembly (including past labor) from 22,308 to 27,435 dinars; secretaries of committees and secretaries of joint commissions from 22,201 to 27,202 dinars, including past labor; and assistants to the secretary general, secretaries of staff services, the head of the Office of the President of the SFRY Assembly, and the chief of protocol of the SFRY Assembly from 22,527 to 26,650 dinars, including past labor.

The chairman of the Federal Executive Council has the same base pay as the president of the Yugoslav Assembly. The "base" of the president of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court is about 3,000 dinars less. The vice chairmen of the Federal Executive Council have the same personal income as the vice presidents of the SFRY Assembly, not including past labor, the members of the Federal Executive Council, the judges of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia and the president of the Federal Court have the same personal income as vice presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the chairmen of working bodies in the Yugoslav Assembly, not including past labor.

Full-Fledged Apartment or Furnished Bachelor's Apartment

An order which is now under consideration by the delegates provides that a delegate elected as a holder of office in the SFRY Assembly may receive an apartment for temporary use so long as he holds that office, that is, so long as he does that work and performs those tasks, or for permanent use with the right of tenancy. An apartment which is allocated for temporary use (official apartment) does not come with the right of tenancy, and it must be returned upon expiration of the officeholder's term.

The right of tenancy can be acquired, that is, a delegate can receive an apartment for permanent use if he is an officeholder who does not have a dwelling and is moving his family to Belgrade, but he may not have the right of tenancy to two dwellings, since he must return the dwelling in his previous place of residence. If another apartment is allotted to him upon expiration of his term of office, for example, in his own republic or province, the apartment is returned to the housing stock of the Federation. In short, delegates who hold office have the same rights as any citizen, and the Law on Housing Relations which applies to everyone applies to them as well. The exception is the so-called official apartment, which makes it possible for the delegate holding office in Belgrade to perform his duty. This apartment, a bachelor's apartment as a rule, is furnished, and he must pay all the costs for it and depreciation on the furnishings.

Languages and Scripts

Speeches in the Yugoslav Assembly are translated simultaneously--in both directions--to and from Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Albanian and Hungarian. All documentary materials are translated and printed in the following languages (according to the terminology used in the Assembly): Serbo-Croatian (Cyrillic), Croatian literary language (Latin script), Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian in the ijekavski dialect used in SR Bosnia-Hercegovina (Cyrillic and Latin alternately), Slovenian, Macedonian, Albanian and Hungarian.

These are just some of the facts we talked about with Janez Lukas, secretary general of the SFRY Assembly, in our desire to create a picture of the "parliament from within."

[Question] It is often said that the delegates carry a heavy load. What is the total number of sessions that have been held in this convocation and how many items have been on the agenda?

[Answer] In performing their principal function of establishing policy and adopting laws and other general acts, the chambers of the SFRY Assembly have held 84 sessions from 15 May 1978 to 31 October of this year, with a total of 924 points on the agenda. The Federal Chamber held 37 sessions with 508 items on the agenda, and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 47 sessions with 416 items on the agenda. Joint working bodies of the Yugoslav Assembly held 233 meetings with 1,160 points on the agenda. The working bodies of the Federal Chamber have had 496 meetings and 2,593 points on the agenda, and those of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 514 meetings with 2,182 points on the agenda. The working bodies have also held 35 joint meetings with 48 items on the agenda. In addition, the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly has held 43 meetings with a total of 240 items on the agenda.

[Question] Is it possible for every delegate to do a proper job of reading the pages of various pieces of material every month or every year?

[Answer] In its meetings the Federal Chamber has taken up 172 drafts or proposed versions of laws, 119 proposed versions of orders and 47 proposed versions of other general acts. The Chamber of Republics and Provinces has in its sessions taken up 102 proposed versions of laws, 99 proposed versions of orders and 73 proposed versions of other general acts. Every delegate of the Federal Chamber, from 15 May 1978 to 31 October of this year, has received 3,942 pieces of documentary material with a total of 42,941 pages. This means that every delegate in the Federal Chamber has received on the average 94 pieces of material per month with 1,020 pages. A delegate in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces has over that same period received 5,968 pieces of documentary material with a total of 50,165 pages, or a monthly average of 142 pieces with a total of 1,194 pages. Yet I am not mentioning to you the material which is also regularly sent to the delegates from the various working bodies in the SFRY Assembly, informative materials issued by the Staff Service for Documentation, the Staff Service for Information, the Social Accounting Service, or the Assembly's Herald.... Last year, for example, the Assembly's print shop printed 32,671,000 pages in format A-4 and consumed 115 tons of paper. In the first 9 months of

this year it has already printed 39.: million pages in that same format and consumed 120 tons of paper.

[Question] The observation has been made, though, to be sure, it is not uttered too loud, nor often, that the delegates substitute a few leading officeholders in the republics for their own constituency and consult only them concerning their activity.

[Answer] Performance of the jobs and tasks within the competency of the SFRY Assembly does not depend solely on the effective work of the delegates in it, but to a considerable extent on the successful functioning of the delegate system as a whole and on its capacity to perform the social role which it has in the process of the mode of operation and decisionmaking based on delegacy. Concerning every significant decision a democratic procedure has to be conducted in which organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations, as well as their delegations, state their position, and with respect to decisions within the jurisdiction of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, consent of the republic and provincial assemblies is also required. In order to make it possible for the delegations in the delegate base to state their positions, the material which has been proposed for consideration in the SFRY Assembly has to be worked up, that is, summaries have to be prepared of the positions and decisions proposed, and these are then published in the Assembly Herald, which is intended for the delegations. It comes out every 14 days, except during the summer recess of the Assembly, in 14 different editions in the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and in the languages of the ethnic minorities (in Albanian, Hungarian, Ruthenian, Slovak, Romanian and Turkish). This Herald is received by a total of 78,210 delegations of the principal self-managing organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations. Its circulation, incidentally, is 450,000 copies.

Debate in All the Languages

[Question] The democratic procedure of stating positions and reconciliation of positions on proposals and stands has on several occasions been frustrated because laws were passed by emergency and abbreviated procedure. Do you know the figures that might illustrate this assertion?

[Answer] According to the regular procedure for adoption of acts in the Federal Chamber, proposed versions must be delivered to the delegates 60 days before consideration, while in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces the period is 45 days. From the beginning of this term, that is, since 15 May 1978, up to the end of 1980 the Federal Chamber had adopted 94 laws through regular procedure and 14 by abbreviated procedure, and 19 laws were adopted by emergency procedure. In the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 54 laws were adopted by regular procedure and 41 by abbreviated procedure.

[Question] There are representatives of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities in the Yugoslav Assembly. Has it been made possible for them to follow the debate in their own language? How much has the demand for translation and other work which must be done by people employed in the Assembly affected the size of the staff?

[Answer] There is a well-organized staff service for translations into the languages of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. Last year it translated and edited 73,766 pages. In addition, there were over that same period 230 hours of simultaneous interpreting. In the first 10 months of this year more than 50,000 pages have already been translated. Specialized, technical and organizational tasks are performed for the Assembly by its staff services, which have a work force of 675. This is a large staff. A number of measures are in the works to reduce its size and to establish an optimum and efficient organization of the staff services. Resolutions which the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly and the Administrative Commission adopted last year prohibiting an increase in the size of the staff services of the Assembly, together with the specific program of the work community and sociopolitical organizations on economy and efficient conduct of business, are already being implemented. The staff members themselves have made a great effort to use their worktime as efficiently and optimally as possible and to perform additional jobs on their own through flexible organization, rescheduling of worktime, staggered working hours and work on more than one shift, thereby avoiding overtime.

[Question] How many delegates receive their personal income in the Yugoslav Assembly?

[Answer] There are 74 delegates who receive their personal income or compensation for personal income in the Federal Chamber and 76 in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. The other delegates obtain their personal income from the work organization in which they are employed.

[Question] What has happened with what is referred to as "Brkic's law"? That is, there is a law on officeholders whereby delegates can receive a personal income even after their term of office has expired if they have not been assigned to a new position.

[Answer] Those officeholders who were elected and appointed in the SFRY Assembly, but have not been assigned to other jobs upon expiration of their term of office, are receiving personal income or compensation for personal income on the basis of the special law in the SFRY Assembly. Upon expiration of the term of the Assembly convocation between 1974 and 1978 this right has been exercised by 72 delegates or officeholders, but today there are only 8 of them. There has been a debate for several years about the delegates obtaining their personal incomes in the republic and autonomous province.

[Question] How much does the Yugoslav Assembly actually cost?

[Answer] In 1980 the Federal Assembly budgeted 354,694,628 dinars, and in 1981 it planned 368,049,444 dinars, or 4 percent more than a year previously. The Yugoslav Assembly covers its expenses from the federal budget. Over the first 9 months of last year expenditures amounted to 56,952,454.20 dinars, while expenditures in the first 9 months of this year were 56,982,907.05 dinars. These two last figures do not include money paid for personal incomes. Last year there was a saving of 21,080,036.75 dinars of the funds approved, which was returned. These are the results of the economy program which is being carried out painfully, but persistently.

Delegates and the Telephone

[Question] What expenditures are made for entertainment?

[Answer] In 1980 the Assembly budgeted 826,000 dinars for entertainment. That same amount has been planned for this year as well. Of that 597,602 dinars were spent last year, and in the first 9 months of this year 313,551 dinars. In accordance with the Law on Temporary Prohibition of Disposition of a Portion of Public Funds and Payment of Certain Expenses, one of which is entertainment--this, incidentally, being a law adopted by this Assembly--it is no longer spending funds for entertainment this year.

[Question] Certainly it would be interesting to know the amount of funds set aside to pay per diems of delegates.

[Answer] Over the first 10 months of last year 4,507,204 dinars were spent for per diems of delegates in both chambers and for operation of joint working bodies, while over the first 10 months of 1981 this expenditure was 4,099,488 dinars. The Federal Chamber's share of these figures was 2,442,954 dinars in the first 10 months of 1980 and 2,207,610 dinars in the same period of 1981. In the Chamber of Republics and Provinces 1,362,500 dinars were spent in the first 10 months of 1980 and 1,466,585 dinars in the same period of 1981.

[Question] The telephone is an extremely important device in the delegate system. It is quite certain that the delegates use it practically every moment. What are the telephone expenses like, how large are they, and who pays for them?

[Answer] Over the first 10 months of last year telephone expenses in the Federal Assembly amounted to 3,917,664.25 dinars, and this year 5,295,696.50 dinars, or 35 percent more than last year. This increase occurred partly because of the higher rates of PTT [postal, telegraph and telephone] services. Though constant warnings have been issued and a possibility has been sought for reducing these expenses, success has not been achieved. After all, all accredited newsmen have the right to report to their editorial offices on the proceedings of Assembly chambers and working bodies without any sort of compensation. And then the delegates and delegations are in constant communication with the assemblies of the republics and provinces, and the staff services of the Assembly must also coordinate their work with the respective staff services.

[Question] Have there been any disagreements with work organizations from which delegates have come? Do they seek compensation for the time which their people spend in the Yugoslav Assembly?

[Answer] It is an honor to be a delegate, and we have never had such problems, as far as I know. Performance of this task is an important social function. We have had only two cases in which work organizations have sought compensation for the days or hours which their workers spend in the Assembly as delegates.

[Question] In what republics or provinces are those organizations located?

[Answer] In Montenegro and Kosovo.

[Question] That means that we are not talking about the only two delegates who are peasants?

[Answer] No, they have not sought compensation. However, under a decision of the Administrative Commission of the SFRY Assembly, they receive 350 dinars for every day spent in meetings of working bodies or sessions of the chambers.

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